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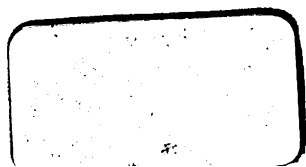
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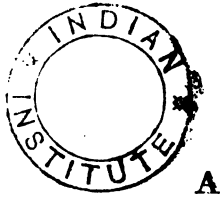
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HISTORY OF HINDUSTÁN :

BEING AN ENGLISH VERSION OF

RAJA' SIVAPRASAD'S

॥ इतिहास तिमिरनाशक ॥

PART III.

BY

PANDIT BHAVANÍDAT JOSHI.



BENARES :

PRINTED AT THE MEDICAL HALL PRESS.

1874.

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PREFACE

OF THE AUTHOR TO THE ITIHĀS TIMIR NAŚAK

PART III.

I have been true to my quotaion in the preface to the 1st part, and have tried my best to condense as much information as I possibly could in this small brochure (3rd part) for venile readers.

I have freely taken advantage of the old and most recent searches of such eminent persons as Sir William Jones, Mr. James Prinsep, Professor H. H. Wilson, Dr. Haug, General Cunningham, Dr. John Muir and Professor Max Müller, to whom my best thanks and acknowledgments are due, but have not been too timid to advance here and there some of my own ideas which the reader may not feel surprised to find sometimes quite original.

Perhaps it may be objected that the book is too difficult for the young, but experience has shown that some such thing is required to create the desire of enquiry and strengthen the power of observation in my countrymen. A Persian author has justly said that the perusal of Histories "inspires even the negligent with subjects of reflection."

English scholars may truly say that many matters are quite out of place in a history of this character, but they should bear in mind that English boys have so many books at their disposal to read and study that it does not matter what is offered to them in one and what in the other, but here very few young reading people, and most of them reluctant to spend even a few annas in the purchase of books, opportunity has been taken to give them in these pages as much useful information as possible and which I thought was not within their easy reach incongruous to the subject matter.

No sober man is expected to go through these pages and again believe in the mythology of the Purāṇs or long for one of the old *régimes*. This of course seems very hard upon those who always tune their pipes with the praises of the Muhammadan Empire, and have nothing but fault to find with the Government of the day. I am a pupil and admirer of the great scholar and statesman, Sir Henry Elliot, and whom I had the honour to serve for some time; he says in his preface to the "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India" that "if instruction were sought for from them (Muhammedan histories) we should be spared the numerous declarations respecting Muhammedan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Character now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a true light and probably be held up to the execration of mankind."

Writing history is a most thankless business. A historian has no choice to please this or that party. He has a day of judgment in miniature before him. The greatest men of the world have to rise from their peaceful graves and stand up before him to give an account of their doings; he cannot spare neither high nor low, he must deal with facts and facts alone.

BENARES: }
January, 1873. }

SIVA PRASAD.

NOTE.

No trouble has been spared to give a correct transliteration of the native names and words, but following the native way of pronunciation the final sanskrit *a* has generally been left out. The following key may be useful to readers.

Roman.	Hindí.	Persian.	Roman.	Hindí.	Persian.
A a	अ	ا	DH dh	ठ	دھ
K á	आ	آ	R r	ड	ر
I i	इ	اِي	RH rh	ढ	دھ
Í í	ई	اِي	N n	ण	ن
U u	उ	اُو	T t	त	ت
Ú ú	ऊ	اُو (مَعْرُوف)	TH th	थ	تھ
Ri ri	रि	ر	D d	द	د
E e	ए	اے	DH dh	ध	دھ
AI ai	ऐ	اِي	N n	न	ن
O o	ओ	اُو (مَجْهُول)	N n	न	ن
AU au	औ	اُو	P p	प	پ
K k	क	ک	PH ph	फ	ف
Ḳ ḱ	क	ک	F f	फ	ف
KH kh	ख	کھ	B b	ब	ب
ḲH ḱh	ख	کھ	BH bh	भ	بھ
G g	ग	غ	M m	म	م
Ḡ ḡ	ग	غ	Y y	य	ي
GH gh	घ	کھ	R r	र	ر
CH ch	च	چ	L l	ल	ل
CHH chh	छ	چھ	V v	व	و
J j	ज	ج	S s	स	ث س ص
JH jh	झ	جھ	Ś ś	श	ش
Z z	झ	ز	SH sh	ष	ष
T t	ट	ت	H h	ह	ه
TH ṭh	ठ	تھ			
Ḍ ḍ	ड	د			

ITIHÁS TIMIR NÁŚAK.

PART III.

We said in the beginning of the 1st Part of this work—"Are there any who do not care to hear the story of their ancestors, to know of their manners and customs, their trades and occupation, of the forms of government and the condition of the people; to learn when, how and by what Rájás and Kings they were governed; which of these oppressed their subjects; what revolutions happened and with what results? We ask can there be men who have no interest in these things? An attempt has been made in the following pages to give the history of Hindustán from the pre-historic times to the present day." Our readers may remark: "you have already given us in the 1st and the 2nd parts of this work an account of how and by what kings this country was governed and which of these tyrannized over us; when will you fulfil your promise?" But scarcely any other country has so obscure and vague a history as Hindustán; and while all the ancient governments such as China, Egypt, Asia Minor, Persia, Greece and Rome have an articulate and continuous history for three or four thousand¹ years back, India does not possess any authentic record of a single event previous to the Muhammadan invasion. Several names of Rájás and Kings occur in the Rámáyan and the Mahábhárat, but with regard to many of them none can now say who their descendants were, and how long they reigned; whose thrones were usurped and who were the usurpers; what great works were done and in whose time. Even the countries, rivers and mountains mentioned in these books cannot be now identified; they may be in existence, but time having changed their names they are unrecognised. It is very remarkable that the Musalmáns reigned over this country for only six hundred years, and yet there are several² historical works of that period, which give us information on various important matters. But for the times previous, there is scarcely any book written worthy of consideration if we except the Veds, Puráns and other contemporary works, which are said to record events of the Satyayug, Tretá and

¹ Traces of events have been found in Nineveh belonging to a period 2231 years B. C.

² Sir Henry Elliot collected 149 historical works, which were subsequently sent to England. Enquiries were made for above two hundred more, of which a list was circulated.

Dvāpar; and although the Rājataranginī and the Rājāvalī give some account of Kāśmīr and one or two other kingdoms, and we know something of Vikram, Bhoj and some dozen other princes, of course we cannot call this an entire and unbroken history of Hindustān. The reason is this :—formerly, the Brāhman were the depositories of the pedigrees of kings, and of the battles fought by them. Even to this day the Bhāts¹ (Bards) earn their living amongst the native princes by singing the fame and greatness of their house, before the royal processions. The Rāmāyaṇ was sung at Rāmchandra's *Yajna* (horse sacrifice). Parīkshit heard the great deeds of his ancestors from Śuk. Sūt² narrated the Purāns at Naimishāranya before 60,000 Munis and Chandras. In verse the battles fought by Prithirāj. In olden times such traditions were preserved in Sanskrit Śloks; more recently they have been celebrated in vernacular verse, because poetry is easier to remember than prose. These bards were proud of what they knew and kept it secret from others. Oral traditions are never durable, and when a Rājā died and his race became extinct, the bards considered it no longer necessary to keep in memory his genealogy, and time consigned every thing about him to oblivion; but we do not regret this loss much, because to please his master a bard invented stories without regard to truth. Anything that the discredit of his patron was altogether omitted, while what contributed to his fame and greatness was exaggerated to absurdity. If a bard knew nothing of his patron's father he was declared to be a god. If a prince committed a crime, it was attributed to the fatal influence of some curse. We can give numerous instances of such extravagances. Some time ago the Pūñchhariā Rājā of Porbandar or Sudāmāpur in Kāthiyāvār sought the hand of the daughter of the Rānā of Udaypur. When asked for his pedigree he was disconcerted and pressed his bards to give in his genealogy at once. They were greatly perplexed, for his lineage not being an old one, they could not count back for more than ten or twelve generations. The Rājā was peremptory. At length one of them after some respite informed the Rājā that he had made reverence to the Devī or tutelary goddess of the race, fasting seven days from meat and drink, and that on the seventh it had been revealed to him in a dream that the Rājā was a descendant of the great Hanumān himself. While flying over the sea to Lankā, Hanumān perspired with the heat, and one of the sacred drops (the bard continued) was swallowed by a monster of the deep, who floating about reached the sea shore near Kāthiyāvār and there gave birth to a child with a tail, who became the progenitor of the Kāthiyāvār princes. These princes, he moreover alleged, were formerly graced with a tail, which

¹ Bhāt is apparently a corruption of Bhāṭṭa.

² Sūt means a bard (Bhāt).

fell away under the withering influence of the Kali-yug. The Rájá was highly pleased and rewarded the bard with munificence. The geneological table was then transmitted to the Ráná who declined the suit, with the reply that the Udaypur princess could not be fitly matched to one whose father was a monkey and mother an alligator. This plainly illustrates what value can be set on the oral traditions of these bards.

Besides this if ever a book was written, owing to want of the art of printing which tends to make books imperishable, in time it became full of errors through the carelessness¹ of the copyists; and even if it was corrected, yet being confined to private libraries sooner or later perished during the incessant wars and revolutions. In the absence of any authentic records we are obliged to dig in another field to collect materials for the ancient history of this country. Gold, silver and copper coins disinterred from the earth furnish² us with names of kings and eras. Subscriptions on pillars erected in commemoration of triumphs or religious rites, on walls, tanks, forts, temples and images give us some account of ancient kings. Besides, we avail ourselves of the legends, songs and stories of antiquity, collate them with foreign authors and select³ what seems to possess historic value. We thus obtain material for the ground work and it is not a very difficult task to rear the superstructure of an elementary work like the Timir Násak with the aid of the historical sketches relating to this country however imperfect they are.

A serious difficulty stands on our way; we cannot get a trustworthy era if we put aside that of Buddh which begins from Śákya Muni. There

¹ A learned gentleman conjectures that in Ashtak 7 Adhyáy 6 Varg 27 of the Rig-Ved, the word अग्नेः (of fire) is a clerical error for अग्ने (in front) and the mistake led to the Satī custom. Who knows if द्यौरसमुद्र (Ocean of Milk) may be a slip of the pen for द्यौरसमुद्र (the salt sea)!

² The natives of this country believe that the Europeans search for such things only in hope of finding an index to hidden treasures. It is a great pity that none of our countrymen should know the value of antiquarian researches.

³ Thus—the Assyrians fix the invasion of India by their Queen Semiramis at 965 B. C. and perhaps from this word Assyria or Ásuri Des, the capital of which was Babylon; Kátyáyan derives the word Ásuráyaní (relating to Ásuri) which occurs in his explanatory note to the aphorism of Páṇini. It ought to be borne in mind that in Padma Purán the Devi is called Śamirámá. The arrow headed inscriptions (about 2500 years old) on the Behistun Hill, and the staircases of Takht-i-Jamshed (Istakhr or Persepolis) give us some information about India. Moreover several writers who accompanied the expedition of Alexander the Great (about 2200 years ago) to India have left us ample accounts of this country, and after them the Greeks, Romans and Persians have often written about it. The journals of the Chinese travellers Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang who made pilgrimages to the sacred places of the Buddhists of India in 399 and 632 A. D. respectively also contain a detailed account of their travels.

are no dates on which reliance can be placed before Vikram and no clue is to be found to that of Yudhishtīr. Astrologers have a cycle of 60 years, each year being called by a separate name. It may be, the same method was followed in ancient times ; or they had the Julúsi era which commenced at the coronation of a king and ended at his death. Even at the present time amongst the inhabitants of the hills in Northern Hindustán the shorter era of a hundred years prevails, which begins anew after every century. But this results in uncertainty. If you ask them when a certain event occurred, they reply it took place in the Satya-yug, though it may have happened only three or four hundred years ago, and if the event is of more recent date, they commonly guess it to have occurred before or after the Pándavs. It may be premised that before Vikram time was calculated from the commencement of the Kali-yug. But the coins and inscribed stones of dates prior to his reign bear no mention of the Kali-yug. In the tope (Stúp) of Sanchí near Bhilsá which is more than two thousand years old, only the figure 93 (⊕⊖) is inscribed to mark the date. On the pillars erected by King Áśok or Priyadarśi Rájá in Prayág (Allahabad) and other places the date given is 12 years from the accession of that monarch. To this difficulty another still greater is added. Our poets have given scope to their imagination by exaggerating the prowess, stature, and lifetimes of the ancient Kings. A Rájá is described as some miles high, his children some thousands in number, his personal valour quite equal to the extirpation of mountains, and his lifetime as some thousands of years.* The Hindús will, of course, be startled at hearing such heterodox opinions, but we relate exactly what we find in their Śástras. In the Veds, on the

¹ The image of Mahāvīr found by General Cunningham at Mathurā last year, probably two thousand years old, which purports to have been made by Rājā Vāsudeva in the 90th year of his era, contains a similar figure 90. The General has taken an impression of the inscription part of which (Siddham om namo Arhat Mahāvīrasya Rājā Vāsudevasya Samvatsare 90) is transcribed below. It is a matter of regret that the remainder should have been illegible, the letters having been defaced.

སྤྱུང་གྱི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་པམ་མཐའ་ཡི་ལྷ་
 གཏུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ལྟེ་ ⊗

³ The Jains assert the stature of Rishabhadev to have been 500 fathoms or 700 thousand cubits and his age of 84,00000 Púrvas or 592,704,0000000000000000 years!

other hand, where the poets pray for a long life, it is said "May I live for a hundred winters," that is, for a hundred years. In Kath Upaishat Yam exhorts Nachiketá to ask for sons and grandsons who may live for a hundred years. In the Manusmriti human age in the Káli-yug is fixed at one hundred years; and in the Dvápar two, the Tretá, three, and the Satya four hundred years.¹ Even supposing as many kings of the ages stated above lived in the three preceeding Yugs as they live of 100 years age in the Kali-yug, still there is a vast difference between these and the ages of some thousand years.

Many orthodox Hindús will not concede so much. They will say it is against religion to hold that imagination of the poets had any thing to do with what is recorded in the Śástras. In the opinion of such men if a person is represented as having his head as large as the top of a mountain, his nostrils and ears must be as big as caves! They will not for a moment stop to question whence he got a horse or a wife befitting him. If one's face was likened to the moon and his eye to the lotus, the former must be eclipsed and the latter must yield fruit. Jackals, foxes, bulls and other animals whose stories are related by Vishnu Śarmá in the Hitopadeś must be supposed to have been endowed with human speech and understanding. The people of Burmah still call their sovereign by the appellation of gold; let then his hands and feet be melted and put into the mould. Again if you ask: In spite of the immense increase of population, Hindustán at present does not contain more than two hundred millions of inhabitants,—whence could Rám or Yudhishtíra raise an army of thousands of millions? They will never admit that this is only the hyperbole of their poets; but when they are made to understand the economy of population, and that the whole world is not sufficient to contain so many beings, they will though confused, at once remark that in former times the extent of Hindustán was vastly larger, but that the influence of the Kali-yug has contracted it!² To men

¹ शतंजीवशरदोवर्धमानः शतंह्येमन्ताञ्जतमुवसन्तान् ॥

अरोगाः सर्वसिद्धार्थाश्चतुर्वर्षशतायुषः । कृते त्रेतादिषु ह्येषामायुर्हंसति पादयः ॥

² Ayodhyá is described in the Rámáyan as 48 koses long and 12 koses broad. The Pandits will never allow that it was probably the extent of the whole Kosál Kingdom, but on the contrary when compelled to admit that assuming this to be the area of Ayodhyá, its gate extending more than 48 kos in each direction ought to be at Dohrighát in Ázamgarh beyond the hills in the Taráí of Nappál, or on the other side of the Ganges near Prayág or Fatahpur,—that the Gomatí ought to fall within it, and that Lakhnau and other cities and towns ought to form its suburbs, they will not hesitate to say the extent of Ayodhyá, that is the ground, has now contracted! The credulity of our countrymen is proverbial. If one is told that his own ear has been carried off by a crow, he will run after it without waiting to ascertain whether he has really lost his ear. A fool was even heard to say he was dead; when told to the contrary he said—"No! it was impossible that the astrologers who

of such a temper of mind we have only to say that our purpose is neither to lay down nor to take away any religious system. We intend to give the history of our country, that is to say, those facts and events which would be admitted by men of all religions, and which can be established by evidence forthcoming. We have nothing to do with the faith, tenets or prejudices of any nation or sect. We shall give here an instance to illustrate what we mean by facts falling within the province of history, and religious beliefs and persuasions. That Banáras was visited by Aurangzeb and the temple of Viśveśvar was demolished by him is an historical event. Hindús, Musalmáns, Jains and Christians will all admit this; it is recorded in their historical works, and part of the building is still to be seen behind the Masjid. This therefore is a fact worth relating, but that Viśveśvar jumped into the Jnán Vápí (the well of wisdom) after having intimated this to his priest in a dream is a matter of faith to the Hindús alone, and does not belong to history. Similarly that Rám was a descendant of Ikshváku, the first of the solar race, and the eldest son of Daśarath king of Ayodhyá by his queen Kauśalyá; that Daśarath who had four sons including Rám by his three wives, wished to instal Rám as Yuvaráj (heir apparent) but the Rání Kaikeyí who had previously obtained a boon from Daśarath, drove Rám into exile for 14 years and strove to procure the installation for Bharat; that Rám obeyed his father and with his wife Sítá and half brother Lakshman son of Sumitrá set out for the wilderness, where Rávan king of Lanká carried off Sítá, that Rám invaded Lanká with the assistance of Sugrív, slew Rávan in battle and placing his brother Vibhíshan on the throne, finally returned with his wife to Adyodhyá. All these incidents are beautifully depicted by the contemporary poet Válmíki in his truly admirable Rámáyan and are matters of history. But nearly two and a half centuries ago Bába Tulsídás deified Rám by making him an incarnation of Vishnu according to the authority of several Puráns, and sang in charming language the heroic deeds of Rám as being divine; this we say, appeals simply to belief. Many even go so far as to believe that Hanumán dictated and Tulsídás wrote; we may also believe this, but we ought never to mix it with the authentic events of history. In the same manner the birth of Jesus Christ in Judea in the year 57 of Sambat era or about it, his preaching amongst the people, and his crucifixion are facts, but his being the son of God and the Saviour of the world is simply a matter of faith to Christians only. Again the birth of Muhammad at Makka (Mecca) in 569 A.D. and his waging war for the spread of Islám, his flight to Madína and

had foretold him the date of his death should be mistaken—that he had really died many months ago.”

his death there, are events recognized by history, but his being the apostle of God and the deliverer of his followers will be believed by the Muhammadans alone. In short our readers must learn what history means, and with this knowledge they will not take offence at what we write. But those who do not know what history is, have generally so deep-rooted a prejudice that they think, whatever they believe is right and what another affirms can never be so, though it be supported with as strong arguments as possible. Such men are not entitled to read this book.¹ Fools of the common folly feel themselves wiser than those who can render a reason.

Many Hindús will ask how that can be false which is written in their books and believed to be true from time immemorial. In reply we say that the Jains will not be slow to use the same argument, as their books are as ancient as those of the Hindús. Moreover they have very old and useful libraries still existing at Paṭṭan, Jaisalmer and Khambhāt, such as the former cannot boast to possess at present.² Supposing that the books of both have an equal claim to antiquity, what is the reason that the births of Kṛishṇa and Rām are fixed by the Jains at above 86,000 and 11,86,000, while by the Hindús at about 5,000 and above 8,50,000 years respectively? and thus they differ almost everywhere. It is impossible that both can be equally true; which party then, and for what reasons, is to be considered in the right and which in the wrong? We know the Vedists will not hesitate to assert that the religion of the Jains is false, and therefore the accounts given by the Jains are not trustworthy. But the Vedists ought to reflect that the Jain religion was confessed by their ancestors for hundreds of generations; nay we assure them (and can give our proofs) that before Śankarāchārya who lived only about 1200 years ago the religion of the Buddhists or the Jains prevail-

¹ This difficulty does not present itself to us alone. It has been combated by our learned and great men in former times also. Bhaṭṭapād Kumārīl, the commentator on the Mīmāṃsā when taunted by his opponents with the immorality of his gods, the incestuous intercourse of Prajāpati with his daughter, and the seduction by Indra of Ahalyā, the wife of his spiritual guide, replies, that the charge is unfounded. Prajāpati is the sun, and Aurora (Ushas) is his daughter. In the Veds the expression that Prajāpati fell in love with his daughter is altogether figurative. It means simply that the sun rises after the dawn. Similarly Indra also means the sun, and Ahalyā (formed of Ahan and li) the night. Here also the expression that Indra seduced Ahalyā is figurative, implying that at sunrise the gloom disperses. We subjoin the original:—

“प्रजापतिस्तावत्प्रजापालनाधिकारात् आदित्य एवोच्यते । सचाङ्गोदयवेलायां मुख-
समुद्भाज्येति सातदागमनोदयोपजायत इति तद्वृत्तित्वेन व्यपदिश्यते । तस्यां चाङ्ग-
किरणाव्यधीजनितोपात् स्त्रीपुरुषसंयोगमधुपचारः । एवं समस्ततेजाः परमेश्वरस्य निमित्ते-
न्द्रशब्दवाच्यः सधितेवाहनि लीयमानतया रात्रेरहल्याशब्दवाच्यायाः स्वभात्मकजरजहेतुत्वात्
जीर्णसमादनेनवोदितेन वेत्यहल्याजार इत्युच्यते । न परस्त्रीव्यभिचारात्” ॥

² Professor Bühler has discovered 15,000 books of the Jains in the Bombay Presidency, and promises to publish a list of them within 5 years.

ed¹ throughout the whole of Bháratavarsh, and that only a few places such as Káśí, Kanauj, Kurukshetra and Kaśmír remained as outposts of the vedic religion. It is absurd to suppose that the two hundred millions, Hindús of the present day are descendants of the few vedists of that age. It cannot but be admitted that many, if not all the present Hindús, are the progeny of the Buddhists and Jains. It is evident from the book called Śankar Digvijay (Śankar's universal conquest) that many of them were converted. The Jain Rájá Vishṇu Vardhan of Dvár Samudra, embraced the Vaishnav religion at the preaching of Rámánuj in 1133 A. D. He must be a notable follower of his ancestors who holds by his father and condemns his grandfather. Such inconsistency will be explained of course by urging that every one is at liberty to profess what he believes. Against this we do not contend; we wish to write a history and relate the established facts of the ancient times and do not fight for or against any religious persuasion.²

¹ The Jains will probably be annoyed that we have associated them with the Buddhists, but there is no occasion for offence. By Buddhism we mean that religion which prevailed throughout the entire Bháratvarsh to the negation of the Veda from the time of Gautam Swámí, the chief of the Mahávir's followers (Ganadhar) to that of Śankarácárya which was professed by Aśok and Samprati. The Jains are in no way outside this pale. It ought to be remembered, however that we do not associate them with the flesh eating Tántrik Buddhists of the present day. Jin from which Jain and Budh from which Baudh is derived are synonymous terms, the meaning of both being the same in Kosh (Sanskrit onomastics). Both recognise Gautam. In the Dípvas and other Buddhist books, the word Mahávir is often used for Śákya Muni Gautam Buddh. It is clear therefore that the religion of both must have been the same in his time. As a river after flowing to some distance branches off into two streams named separately, one towards the east and the other towards the west, so in time owing to the difference of opinion amongst professors and authors, this religion was divided into two viz. the Jain and the Bauddh. The main stream may optionally be designated by either name. If its source and villages situated on its banks are acknowledged to be the same, the fact of its having different appellations does not make it another river. Our reason for calling the followers of Gautam the Buddhists—and not giving this name to the Jains, is that the followers of Gautam are known to foreign authors by the former name, and if we call them Jains it will only create confusion and misunderstanding.

² As to the knowledge of the Pandits regarding past ages, the less spoken the better a single instance will suffice to shew how the matter stands. If you ask a Pandit, when Pápiní the celebrated Grammarian lived, he will immediately reply that he flourished in Satya Yug, millions of years ago. But he will not deny that Patanjali wrote the commentary of Kátyáyan's works and Vyás that of Patanjali. Hem Chandra writes in his Kosh, that Kátyáyan had another name, Váraruchi; Somadev Bhaṭṭ of Kaśmír relates in his Kathásaritságar, that Kátyáyan Vararuchi was born at Kauśámbí, the modern Kosam, a village situated on the banks of the Jamná in the vicinity of Prayág, that he held a controversy with Pápiní, and that he was the chief minister of King Nand. It is proved from the drama Mudrá Rákshas and other books that Chandra Gupt ascended the throne immediately after Nand; this time is as certain as the battle of Plassey (Paláśí), the unvasion of Nadir Sháh or the reigns of Prithiráj and Vikram. Now when did the Grammarian Pápiní live; less than two and a half thousand years ago or more than millions of years? There is no question that Patanjali lived after the reign of Chandra Gupt, because in his celebrated work Bháshya he quotes the name of Chandra Gupt in explaining the aphorism *Sabhá rájá Manushya púrvá*, by giving the example of "*Chandra Gupta Sabham*."

ANCIENT CONDITION OF THE HINDÚS.

Hindú means an inhabitant of Hind. The Persians called the act lying on the left bank of the Sindhu (Indus) Hind, which is but corruption of the word Sindh. The Persians pronounced our Dental as H. Hence, *Sapt* they pronounced *Hapt*, *Sapt Sindhu Hapt Hindu*, *vasvatí Harakhvatí*, *Asur*¹ *Ahur*, *Som Hom*, *Más Máh*. The indús called themselves Aryas or nobles in contradistinction to the her and lower nationalities, and hence the country inhabited by them ing between the Himálayan and Vindhya ranges was named *Áryavart*. ie people of Persia were also Aryas,² and for this reason their country ll bears the name *Írán*, which the Greeks pronounced *Arian*. In e old books found in possession of the Bombay Parsees, whose ances. rs left their mother-country at the time of the Arab conquest to pre- rve their religion, this word is written *Airya*; and *Hirát* the gate- y to Hindustán appears also to derive its name from the same urce.

¹ Ahurmazd was the God of the Persians. In the Rigved also Asur has been taken the sense of Sur, meaning the sun—" *Asurah prāṇadātā*" "*asurah surveshām prāṇadah*" ur (the sun) is the giver of life to all. Asur appears to have been taken to mean a Rákshas mon), just when Sur came to mean a God (Dev, Devatá); and who knows but that en the Hindús attached the bad meaning to Asur the deity of the Persians, these in uital used the Hindú Dev in the sense of a demon. Indra is also considered a demon the Persians. The Assyrians likewise called "Tamu" the sun and "Tam" the day, ile Tam means darkness in the language of the Hindús.

² In confirmation of this remark, see what the great Persian King Darius says in the l inscription of Nakshi Rustam. This is not the Darius overthrown by Alexander, but Darius who died in 485 B. C. Firdausí has given an erroneous enumeration and genealogy nearly all the Persian Kings. This Darius (Darius Hystaspes) more correctly Dáryavus as speaks in the old Persian language, which is derived from the same stock as the San- rit:—"I king Darius, great king, king of kings, Lord of the whole inhabited world, support this great Earth, son of Viśtāsp Hakhámaniśi am a Persian, the son of a Persian, also an yan and the son of an Áryan" (adam Dáryavus Ksháyathiya Vazark Ksháyathiya Ksháyathi- nám Ksháyathiya dahyaunám vispaznánám Ksháyathiya ahyáyá bumiyá vazarkáyá duriá- ra Viśtāspahyá putra Hakhámaniśiya Pársa Pársahyá putra Ariya Ariya putra) The same scription gives the Pedigree of the Persian kings as follows:—

Hakhámaniśi,
Chispáisi,
Ariyá Rám,
Arsam,
Viśtāsp, (Hystaspes) (Persian Gushtāsp)
Dáryavus (Darius)
Kshayárs (Xerxes)
Artakshatra (Artaxerxes)
Dáryavus II. (Darius Ochus)
Artakshatra II.

Do. III.

Kurus (Cyrus) (Persian Kaikhusro) was a descendant of this Hakhámaniśi, and died 0 B. C. His son Kabujiya (Cambyses) ascended the throne after having killed his brother rdiya and invaded Egypt. Gaumút pretending to be Bardiya usurped the throne, but was in by this Dáryavus (Darius), the subject of our note.

The Āryas worshipped the sun. His glory is sung in the Vedic hymns; and he is daily invoked in the Gāyatrī, the Hindū's most sacred prayer. As pervading all space with his radiance, he is called Vishṇu, the pervader. As nourishing all earthly life he is styled Pūshan, the nourisher. If there were no sun there would be nothing; Mitra, Āryama and Mihir, typifying his different beneficent attributes, are amongst several names in Sanskrit as well as in the old language of the Persians,¹ who likewise supposed the sun to ride a chariot drawn by horses. It is no wonder—indeed it is natural, that the worship of the sun should have been the earliest religion of mankind. Although there are numberless stars that twinkle in the firmament are all suns, their small appearance being due only to their immense distance, and though even the Mandākīnī, the celestial Ganges or Milky Way is nothing but an aggregation of suns, and no estimate can be formed of those which cannot be seen; great is the glory of the Almighty Creator, Lord of the Universe, that all these suns, the nearest of which gives daylight to our earth, is so far from us that could a canon ball be transmitted there with undiminishing velocity it would not reach it in 32 years, and is so large that the earth is insignificant compared with it, forms but an inconsiderable part of his infinitely vast creation, yet there is no other object in the universe which fills the mind with such admiration and grandeur and calls forth such feelings of awe and reverence as this nearest sun. Considering fire to be the same element on this earth as the sun is above, the Āryas worshipped it also, and made to it burnt offerings. In the Veds, fire is called Rudra (the Annihilator) as consuming whatever is thrown upon it. Its birth is from the air and smoke is its braided hair. The sun and fire thus becoming the objects of worship, the Āryas began to adore water also by the name of Brahma (the principle of growth and increase), when they saw that nothing

¹ Here are some Sanskrit words with their equivalents in old Persian :—

Sanskrit.	Old Persian.	Sanskrit.	Old Persian.	Sanskrit.	Old Persian.	Sanskrit.	Old Persian.	Sanskrit.	Old Persian.	Sanskrit.	Old Persian.
Iahṣi Áhuti,											
Ieti Ájuiti.											
Dadāmi, Dadāai.											
Dadhāmi, Dadhāhi.											
Dadāti, Asti,											
Dadhaiti, Aśti.											
Pitri, Bhrátri, Páti,											
Páitar, Brátar, Páiti,											
Áśva, Vách, Jánu,											
Aspa, Vách, Zainu.											
Madhu, Vastra, Madhya,											
Madhu, Váśra, Maidhya.											

ould grow without it. The firmament above was worshipped by the
ame of Indra, Lord paramount. Subsequently the moon,¹ the pla-
ets and constellations became objects of adoration. They offered
to their gods what they themselves ate and drank, sacrificed cows, bul-
cks, horses, sheep and goats, and roasted² and boiled their flesh
nd ate it. They poured out to them drink-offerings of Som, the juice³ of
ne Asclepias Acida, such as they and their wives were wont to drink. It
as of course intoxicating, perhaps more so than wine. They had in
hose days no temples, and no images. The people of that time were
imple, robust, and warlike; and cared for little but eating, and drink-
ng and taking their diversion. Their religion was also simple and na-
ural unfettered with the caste distinctions that prevail among the
Indús of to-day. Society was graded merely according to trades and
allings,⁴ as may be evinced from the text of the Mahábhárat "*Karmaná
varnatāngatam*" which indicates that a man was classed according to
he occupation he adopted. The sons of the same man therefore be-
ame Bráhmans, Kshatriyas or Vaiśyas according to their respective
allings, and were not precluded from passing from one class to another,
so that a Bráhmaṇ could become a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya and vice versâ.
The women were not kept in secluded apartments, but mixed with
the men at the public ceremonies and partook of the intoxicating drinks.

The king took one-sixth of the fruits of the soil⁵; but when

¹ The Sanskrit word for moon is Chandramas and perhaps Púrnamas (full moon), Amá-
vásyá (a day without moon) and Mās (lunar month), also the Persian Mah or Mah (lunar
month and Moon) are the various forms of Mas which means moon.

² Yajnaśālā was a spacious sheltered room where sacrificial offerings were made.

³ The Rig Ved describes an Áśvamedh (horse sacrifice) as follows. "The horse
was washed and adorned with costly trappings; goats of various colour were placed before
him. He was made to go round the sacred fire in adoration, then tied to a pole and sacri-
ficed with an axe. The flesh was roasted and boiled, made into balls, and eaten."

⁴ Somlatá, the moon plant (acid asclepias or sarcostema viminalis) was collected
on the hills in moonlight and brought home in carts drawn by rams. It was then bruised
with stones and strained in blankets of goats' wool; the preparer wearing flat golden rings
on each of his fingers. The juice was then mixed with the flour of barley ghí and some-
times with milk, so as to make the drink exhilarating, and preserved in skins. The plant
is not found on this side of the Indus, but grows in abundance on the other side near the
Bolan pass and Māsandarán hills, Viśvá Mitra had to cross the Satlaj and the Vyásá to
procure it. As employed for libations, it is extolled in the Rig Ved as deeply intoxicating
but possessing beneficent virtues. It was regarded as such by the Persians also.

⁵ The people must have been divided into two classes at first distinguished by their
colour white and black, as the word Varṇa means colour.

⁶ The Queen of Virát sent Draupadī to fetch liquor for her to drink.

⁷ The fountain of all right is the sword. The vulgar saying "*jis kī lálhi us kī
bhains*" "His the buffalo whose the stick" is too true. It holds good also among the lower
animals; the tiger scares away all animals from the wilderness he lives in, and lords over
it alone; as the proverb runs "*Bil khodat mūsá mareṅ rájat ráj bhujang*," "mice dig holes
through life, but the powerful snake carries it with a high hand." When the Áryas came from
the north-west and vanquished the non-Áryas and by right of conquest their sovereign

it was of bad quality, his share was limited to one-twelfth. On the cattle, gems, gold and silver he levied one-fiftieth, and on the produce of trees, flesh, meat, honey, and the like accumulations of nature and of art, a sixth. Besides this all the artisans and labourers worked for him gratis one day in the month. He was entitled to 5 per cent. on all debts admitted by the defendant on trial and to 10 per cent. on all denied and proved. Sometimes he drove his chariot himself, as in the Ved Indra is said to drive his horses. The people in those days used to ride horses without saddles and stirrups. The latter are not to be seen in portraits and pictures even subsequent to the period of Vikram. Like the Tartars they milked their mares and considered the drink as a dainty. They measured fields with rods, ploughed them to sow barley and brought home the produce in waggons. They spun cotton and wove cloth. Their dress consisted of a Dhotí a cloth worn round the loins between the legs and fastened behind, a Dupattá or covering for the

became owner of the soil, he apportioned it amongst his followers, as is written in the Veds "Indra the Lord conquered and drove out the Dasyus and Rákshasas and gave their land to his white faced followers"—just as William the Conqueror, the ancestor of our gracious Queen Victoria, after the Norman conquest in 1066 A. D. divided England like a large Camp amongst his fendal lords. It should be noted that as a husbandman wants a plough, oxen, manure, seed, water and divers other things for his land, so a king has to keep an army and all the apparatus of war ready to save it from falling into foreign hands. Hence the king as well as the subject has a right to the produce of the fields. Our Árya kings of old took the sixth share as laid down in the Manusmriti, and as referred to by Kálidás in the Raghuvans (Shashthānsō valī magrahít). As the waste land became less and less, and the cultivation extended and in proportion as the resources of the sovereign were put to a greater strain, his share gradually rose to the fifth, the fourth the third and has now increased even to one half of the produce. This mode of assessment is in the native states called *Baṭáyí* and in the district of Banáras *adhiyá*. The less a king exacted from his subjects and the greater the comfort and the protection he afforded them the more popular he became. In time the king required and appointed men to collect his share, to break land and protect cultivators and allowed them a portion of it for their maintenance. This is the origin of the Zamindári tenure. As these men performed their duties satisfactorily and faithfully, and as new appointments would give rise to complications and disputes, the same men were confirmed in the possession of their plots or villages which became heritable as well as transferable. As the number of such Zamindárs increased, Tahsildárs and Náizims were appointed over them; when the number of these also rose Subahdárs were placed in charge over them. These together with a few descendants of the old kings are the Rájás and Navvábs of the present day. Collectors and Commissioners now superintend the Tahsildárs. Under the slave dynasty one fourth of the gross produce was taken Aláuddín Khiljí assessed it at one half. Sher Sháh reverted to one fourth, but Akbar raised it to one third. The British Government in the North Western Provinces had allowed one third to the Zamindár, but now it is one half. When more grain than wanted came in Baṭáyí and money was urgently required, the revenue was paid in money instead of produce. The greater the produce, and its value the greater the income of the Zamindár and the share of the sovereign. It became irksome to ascertain every year the produce of each village, hence leases were given for more than one year and gradually the terms of such leases were extended, till at length Lord Cornwallis gave Permanent Settlements to Bangál, Bihár, Uṛas and the Province of Banáras. When the king alienated his share in favor of any person in lieu of some service the recipient was called a Jágirdár, and if the grant was made without the expectation of any service in return, that person was called a Mu'áfidár.

shoulders, and a head-dress; and their ornaments, of earrings and necklaces of pearls interspersed with precious gems. The women wore *Sáris*, a dress consisting of one piece of cloth worn round the body and passing over the head. The wheels and the yoke of a chariot were gilded and the former were begirt with iron rings. The people gambled with four *kaurís*, small shells. A Queen accompanied her husband even when he went abroad at night to fight. The early marriage of girls was not so obligatory as is the case now.¹ But a virtuous girl growing to maturity in her father's house could claim maintenance from him. Women appeared in public handsomely attired. In Rajputáná, Gujráť and Maháráshťra and other western countries women are not kept in seclusion even now. They listened to the words of the sages; and Járgí, a learned woman spoke on divinity in the court of king Janak. The people navigated. Bhujyu ventured out into the open sea with a boat of a hundred oars, but narrowly escaped shipwreck. The dead were sometimes burnt and sometimes buried; sometimes they were burnt and then buried. There were no coins in those days, but gold, silver, or copper was weighed out in exchange.² The daily wages of a servant was 1 *paṇ* or *Kárshá paṇ* equal to 80 rattis copper. Besides, he used to get 1 Droṇ or 32 sers of grain per month, and a pair of cloths once every six months. The tolls levied at ferries amounted to 1 *paṇ* for an empty cart, and half a *paṇ* for a load carried by a man. The people knew Medicine. They made implements of husbandry and cooking utensils such as axes, mattocks, earthen jars, cups, spoons and so forth; and manufactured armour and weapons, bows, arrows, clubs, spears, swords and missiles. Conch-shells were blown in a battle. Courtezans and public women carried on prostitution in towns. Spirituous liquor was sold in the market. It certainly is not to be supposed that the Satya-yug was exempt from the vices of later times, for if, as the Hindús say, Manu framed his Code for the Satya-yug, there is hardly a crime of which the punishment is not there prescribed. Laws are set out for the restraint, not of ideal, but of real offences. The Legisla-

¹ Early marriage became a necessity from the time of the Muhammadan rule and from the same period dates the inhuman custom of infanticide.

The weights and measures of those days are as follows:—

² Gold.

1 Ghunghachi (abrus precatorius) made	...	...	...	1 Rattí.
5 Rattís,	...	...	...	1 Máshá.
16 Máshás,	...	...	...	1 Suvarṇ.
4 Suvarṇas,	...	...	...	1 Pal.

Silver.

2 Rattís made,	1 Máshá.
16 Máshás,	1 Dharan.

Copper.

80 Rattís or 80 Kaurís made,	1 Paṇ or Kárshápaṇ.
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tive Council, for instance, would never think of enacting laws against drying up the ocean, snatching away a star, keeping the air in confinement or stealing a mountain, but it would certainly legislate against offences committed or likely to be committed by the people of the present day. That the Satya-yug was not a period of extraordinary purity will appear from the various kinds of illicit offspring enumerated in the Code of Manu, *e. g.* a child whose father is not to be ascertained born during a long absence from home on the part of the mother's husband, the firstborn of a woman pregnant at the time of her marriage, a son born out of wedlock to a father subsequently married by the mother, a child conceived and born by a woman in her widowhood, the son of an *Ārya* by a *Súdrá* wife, these and the like compose the catalogue. The Code also gives clear evidence that the people of that age were very poor; for otherwise fines and penalties for certain grave offences would not have consisted of *kaufís* (shells)¹ and even where silver is imposed, it is reckoned in the small quantity of *Máshás*.² The great wealth of the people lay in herds of kine. The daughter of the early *Ārya* was the *Duhitri*, the milk-maid of the family.

To give a cow was to confer a great boon on the receiver. Even so late as the age of *Mahábhárat*, Duryodhan and other princes of the royal house of Kuru used to go once in three years to the pastures in order to mark the young and growing calves, and the day was one of great festivity. There was no want of grazing grounds. The cows supplied the people with plenty of milk, while the bullocks ploughed their fields and served them as beasts of burden and draught; cowdung was used as fuel when fire-wood could not be had. To kill so useful an animal, therefore, was declared a great sin, otherwise it was impossible to preserve it from the flesh-eaters of that time, and its scantiness was likely to cause famine. Under the present government also bullocks used for ploughing are not sold for arrears of revenue. There is no doubt that the *Bráhmans* of those days offered the *Gomedh* or sacrifice of kine, and as we have already

¹ "Having slandered a *Bráhma*n a *Kshatriya* becomes liable to a fine of 100 paps or 8000 *kaufís*, a *Veisya* of one and a half or 200 paps, but a *Súdra* merits death" (अतं ब्राह्मणमाकुश्य क्षत्रियो दण्डमर्हति। वैश्योऽप्यर्धशतं द्वे वा शूद्रस्तु वधमर्हति) VIII. 267 (*Mānsmṛiti*).

² "He who causes the death of an ass, a goat or a sheep shall be fined 5 *Máshás* of silver; and he who kills a dog or a pig shall pay a fine of one *Máshá* of silver." (गर्दभो जाविकानान्तु दण्डस्यात्यन्वमाशकः। माशकस्तु भवेद्वयदः श्वशूकरनिपातने) VIII. 298.

"When 20 *Bráhmans* are feasted on the occasion of a rejoicing, if the second and third door *Bráhma*n neighbours be not entertained, the host deserves a fine of one *Máshá* of silver." (प्रातिवेश्यानुवेश्याश्च कल्याणे विंशति द्विजे। अर्ह्याभोजयन्विप्रो दण्डमर्हति माशकः) VIII. 392.

written, ate its flesh. The modern Hindús, in their reverence for the cow, indulge in a belief that the ancient Bráhmans had the power of making it alive.¹ All the ceremonies however were unquestionably in the hands of the Bráhmans alone, and it stands to reason they did not sacrifice so many and such cows as would injure the interests of husbandry; and very probably they killed those only which were incapable of yielding milk and giving calves.² We have described these *Aryas* as a simple³ people, but they ought not to be considered ignorant. Their minds were stored with knowledge and the seeds of important sciences and arts had begun to germinate in them. On reading the Code of *Manu* alone it becomes manifest, what good and genial laws they framed in order to regulate the social economy and complicated interests of this world. They regarded themselves with justice as superior to all the nations with whom they came in contact, and gave themselves the name of *Arya* or noble.

There is no proof however that they knew the art of writing. If we pay close attention to the meanings of *Ved*, *Śruti*, *Smṛiti*, *Śāstra*, *Darśan*, *Sūkta*, *Rich*, *Sáman*, *Varg*, *Adhyáya*, *Adhyápak*, *Upádhyáya*, *Granth*, *Páth*, *Páthak*, *Paṭhan*, *Manan*, *Ghoshan*, and similar words we are led to the conclusion that the people of the Vedic age were unacquainted with letters. There is no mention of writing in the Veds, Bráhmaṇs (commentaries on theology and ritual observances) or Sūtras (aphorisms). We have not met with a single word to give the faintest intimation of its existence. Even if we do meet with one in the *Upādi Sūtras* the oldest system of grammar, alluded to by the great grammarian Pāṇini in his work, it appears to be an interpolation of later times.⁴ The Arabic word *kitáb* (a book) which literally means writing, and the word *paper* which is of Greek origin and derives its

¹ No such thing is ever mentioned in the Veds.

² In the *Rig Ved* it is written:—"When we sacrifice a barren or a pregnant cow or a bull, O Fire thou art wholly satisfied." In another place also, it is said "*Maitrá Varuṇān vātāmālabheta*" i. e. a barren cow should be sacrificed to the gods *Mitra*, and *Varuṇ*.

³ See with what simplicity *Kakāhivat* Bráhmaṇ speaks in the Veds, when he says that he got 1060 cows and 100 bulls and 10 chariots with four horses each from his liberal father-in-law *Svanay*. Now let us see what the writer of *Anuvāś* says "King *Bharat* made a largess of 107,000,000,000 Elephants adorned with housing of gold at his coronation! In *Ashṭak II Adhyáya 2nd Varg 4* the number of gods is mentioned as being only 33 i. e. 11 in mid air, 11 on the earth, and 11 in the sky; but the *Purāns* have raised the number to 33 crores. Is this no great difference?

⁴ Similarly in the *Upādi Sūtra* the words *Dinārah* (दीनारः) *Jinah* (जिनः) *Tiritam* (तिरीटम्) *Stūpah* (स्तूपः) all appear to have been interpolated in later times. *Dinārah* (दीनारः) (*Denarius*) is a Latin word, and the root *Ji* (जि) from which *Jin* (जिन) is derived has been omitted by *Sāyan* whilst he has taken other roots from the *Upādi Sūtra*. *Nṛsiṅh* has also left out this root in his *Svaramanjari*; nor do we find it in any other author of note.

name from Papyrus, a kind of reed from which it was made by the Egyptians, clearly point to the existence of this art amongst the nations to which they belong, but there are no such words in the Vedic literature; the wording and the arrangement of Sūtras (aphorisms) were designed to ease the memory, hinting rather than expressing doctrines, for oral transmission. Manu has nowhere made use of words for a book, a pen, an inkstand and paper &c., in the comprehensive system he has prescribed for teaching and learning; nor indeed does he allude to the art of writing throughout his book. Teaching and the use of written or printed books are now so closely associated that the one invariably recalls the other, but the latter nevertheless seems to have spread in this country much later,² and words meaning *patra* for leaf, *lekhamī* for pen, and *mashī* for ink are of modern origin. The people first wrote probably on leaves of the birch-tree in the north and on palm leaves in the south, hence what we write upon still bears the name *patra* (a leaf). *Līk kṛinchnā* or drawing lines on palm leaves was called *likhnā* (writing). *Lip* is akin to the word *Līpnā* which literally means to besmear with fluid, hence when ink was used in writing on palm leaves this word *Lip* obtained its current acceptation; had this art been known in the days of Pāṇini he would certainly have employed some word to express it. He has used the words *Varn*, *Akshar*, *Virām*, the first meaning a modulation (colour) of the voice, the second, a thing imperishable, and the last the pause or rest of the voice. Had he been acquainted with the art of writing he would have never made use of the words *Anusvār*, *Visarg*, *Jihvā Mūlīy* and *Upadhmanīy*, but would have symbolized those sounds by *Vindu*, *Dvi-vindu*, *Bajrākṛiti* and *Gajakumbhākṛiti* as the medieval grammarian Vopadev has done.

The first residence of these Aryas was Sārasvatī a tract situated on the banks of the river Sarasvatī³ in the Panjāb and adjacent tract

¹ "In the beginning as well as at the end of the recital of the Veds the feet of the Guru (preceptor) should be reverentially touched. The Veds should be rehearsed with folded hands; for such is the proper Brahmanjali." (ब्रह्मार्म्हसंस्कारे च पादोपास्यो गुरोस्तदा । संहत्यहस्तावध्येयं संहि ब्रह्माञ्जलिः स्मृतः) II 71. "To the pupil ready to rehearse the Veds, the attentive preceptor shall say 'Read thou;' when the lesson is finished he shall say 'Pause' and the pupil thereupon shall cease reading." (अध्येयमायान्तु गुरुर्नित्यकालमन्तच्छित्तः । अधीष्य भो इति ब्रूयाद्विरामोऽस्त्विति चारमेत्) 73.

² Had the art of writing existed from the earliest times it is certain a written communication would have taken place between the Kauravs and the Paṇḍavs in addition to the verbal negotiation of the envoys; whereas the latter fact is mentioned in the Mahābhārata the former is not.

³ In the Rig Veda it is written: "O Fire, burn thou with a vivid blaze for the inhabitants of the banks of the Drisadvatī (now called Ghagghar perhaps), Āpayā and Śa-

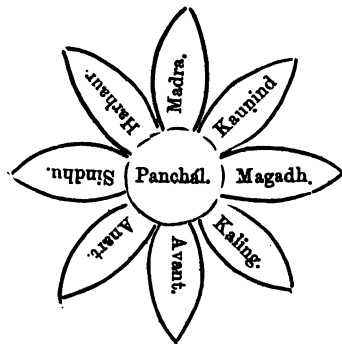
of country. As their descendants multiplied they began to spread towards the East, cleared tracks through large and dense forests by burning them¹ (as is still done in North America) and crossing the Ganges and the Jamuná settled in Kośal and Mithilá, the ancient kingdoms of Avadh (Oudh) and Tirhut. There is no doubt they came from the North-West, and the North-Western part of India is the earliest settlement of our Aryan ancestors. In the Veds they are described as being fair-complexioned. Indra their king is said to have killed *Dasyus* (the aborigines) and apportioned the land to his fair-faced votaries. This tract of country (the North West) is extolled every where in the *Śāstras*, and to it the sacred moon-plant (Som Latá) is indigenous. The country lying on the other side of the Vindhya mountain or the Narmadá river is described as being outside the boundaries of *Āryāvart*; and we do not meet with the names of the Godávarí, the Krishná and the Káverí, and the Malaya and Sahya ranges in the Veds; nay, to go beyond the Narmadá river was strictly forbidden by the ancient Codes, and if any man did transgress this prohibition, he had to cleanse himself by expiations. We have given the name Hindús to those people only who inhabited the country on the left bank of the Indus, but there was no such restriction against their crossing that river. The country beyond the Indus has been for twelve centuries entirely cut off from Hindustán owing to the spread of Islám, but this was not the case in the times of which we write; the countries on both sides of that river were indifferently the home of the Hindús, as both banks of the Ganges at the present day. To the North and South *Āryāvart* was bounded by the Himálay and the Vindhya mountains respectively, but towards the west there was no other limit than the sea. Bal̥kh and Bu-
khárá were in Sanskrit called Báhlík and Bhúkhára. The correct name of Kandhár is Gandhár and the inhabitants of Camboj are at present called Kambohs. The great sages of ancient times from whom the modern Hindús are descended are said to have all come from the mountain in the North called Meru, the highest peak in the world. The site of Meru is, however, uncertain and therefore open to dispute.² In the

rasvatí." (दृषद्वत्सां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदन्ने दिदीहि") The last-named river appears to have been a large one at that time, falling into the Indus or Satlaj which obtains the name of Sapt Sindhu in the Veds owing probably to its junction with the Sarasvatí and the five rivers of the Panjáb. The Sarasvatí has now dwindled into a rivulet, and is absorbed by the Sandy plains. It seems that the Āryas made their earliest settlements on the banks of the largest rivers.

¹ It is written that the fire preceded King Nahush destroying the jungle and clearing the way for him.

² It will amuse our readers to look at the map of Hindustán divided into 9 portions like the 9 petals of a lotus flower by Parśsar, Varáhmihir and other Puranic writers. If this was their idea of the country they lived in, what can be said of their notion of the globe and the science of Geography!

Puráns, this mountain is said to be of gold and seventy five thousand *Yojans* high. Our countrymen will never call any mountain *Mern* which does not answer this description. But they will at least admit that the peaks in the north towards *Balkh* and *Bukhárá* are among the highest in the world, and are on that account called *Bám-i-dunyá* or "props to support the skies" by the neighbouring people. Who knows, if *Samar-kand* be not a corruption of *Sumeru Khaná* and *Tibbat* (*Thibet*) of *Trivishápa*.¹ It is very curious indeed that almost all the nations trace their origin to the central regions of the ancient continent covered by these high mountains. At the time that the *Áryas* began to spread in *Bháratvarsh*, we ought not to suppose that it was destitute of other inhabitants. The *Veds* relate that it was pre-occupied by *Dasyus*² and that they were expelled by the *Áryas* who took possession of their lands. These *Dasyus* were dark coloured, deformed and destitute of energy and acted contrary to the *Veds*. The *Áryas* on the other hand were comparatively fair, handsome and powerful, and introduced the Vedic religion. This is easily apparent even now by contrasting the inhabitants of the cold countries of the North-West and of those of the hot countries of the S. E. It is not improbable that the word *Dás* (a slave) is a corruption of *Dasyu*. The conquering *Áryas*, there is no doubt, reduced them to slavery and hence the word *Dás* would gradually come to mean a slave and *Dasyu* also a thief. Those who escaped from the hands of the *Áryas* concealed themselves in wilds and mountain fastnesses and were the ancestors of the *Gonds*, *Chudárs*, *Kols*, *Dhángars*, *Bhíls*, *Bhars*, *Mushars* and *Cheros*, and other hill and forest tribes. Others who became wealthy and powerful in time united themselves with the *Áryas*



¹ *Bilúr Tág* mountain appears to be, a corruption of the *Vaitádyá* of the *Jains*, though now it is said to have been derived from *Bilúr* or *Billour* (crystal).

² Along with the word *Dasyu* several other names occur in the *Veds* such as, *Rákshas*, *Ugra*, *Pisách*, *Asur*, *Ajás*, *Yakah*, *Sigrav* and *Kíkaṭ*. These are all described as having black skin (स्वचक्रष्णामरन्धयत्).

by intermarriages. Their descendants now people much of the Southern Country and are also called Śúdras, the fourth or servile class. When the increase of population compelled them to neglect the prohibition against crossing the Narmadá, many Āryas migrated and settled on the other side. The language of the Southern people viz. the Tāmīl has however no affinity whatever to the Sanskrit; in other words, as the Sanskrit and its branches, viz. the Bangālī, Gujrātī, Mahārāshṭrī, Sindhī, Braj Bhāshā &c., have originated with the Āryas, so, the Tāmīl and all its kindred tongues such as Telagū, Kānarī, Malayālī &c., seem to have belonged to the Dasyus. The Sanskrit words found in them appear to have been naturalized in later times; but a question of grave importance presents itself at this stage, viz. whence did the Dasyus come? It would be extremely difficult to settle the controversy satisfactorily after the lapse of so many ages. Men of learning and of antiquarian research hold opposite theories; and as conflicting opinions have been advanced, we shall venture to state our own view of the matter under discussion. When the Āryas began to conquer Bhāratvarsh from the N. West the people of Egypt or Misr¹ (called Mudráya in the old Persian) adjoining to Barbary in the valley of the Nile had begun to rise into importance. Their country lies near the sea coast;² and such people are more or less nautical. The inhabitants of the polar regions for instance, rude as they are, venture into the ocean to some distance in order to fish. But there is no question that the art of navigation was quite in its infancy in those days. The people were afraid to lose sight of the sea shore. At present goods worth millions of rupees are despatched to England and America in steamers without assurance, but in those days a man embarking in a ship had to pay 20 per cent. interest on the capital he borrowed—a rate prescribed by Manu.³ Storms and tempests are not uncommon to the sea and it is not improbable that an occasional Egyptian bark may have advanced a little further off the coast, and having safely weathered a storm and wafted by the western gale should anchor near the western coast of Hindustán opposite to Mahārāshṭra, Concan, Keral, Malaya and other southern

¹ The correct pronounciation of Egypt is Aigyupt with hard G. The Greek word Ægyptios means black. Misr, derived from a Hebrew word means a town in Arabic. Coptic (kibtī) was the original language of that country and this can easily be supposed to have been a corruption of Egypt.

² Āsurī Deś (Assyria) the capital of which was Babylon is situated on the sea shore, and thus it is probable that the maritime people of that country might have embarked from Basra (Bassora) and come to India. Arabia is also a country with extensive seaboard. Its ancient name is Kuś, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Kuśadvīp and Kauśīk may be identical with Kuś.

³ The prevailing rate of interest for a Brāhman debtor at that time was two per cent.

countries. The Egyptians were of a dark complexion and were averse to shedding blood, so much so that they worshipped cows, bullocks, cats, dogs, hares, foxes, crocodiles, birds and other animals, and when they died embalmed and preserved them in temples. Even now after a lapse of three thousand years we find many such animals embalmed¹ and kept in catacombs, which on breaking the cases appear as black as coals. These people might have ill brooked the animal sacrifices of the Aryas and opposed the Vedic religion. In our opinion there appears no impropriety in calling them the original Buddhists, because the Vedic and Buddhist or Anti-Vedic are the only two religions of antiquity. Moreover the figures of the Aryas carved on stones (found in the north western regions beyond the Indus) seem to have trimmed hair and beards. Manu also ordains the same. The sculptures of the ancient Egyptians on the other hand represent them with hair and beard shaved or plucked.² We have also heard that the custom of shaving beards prevailed after the Buddhists came into power. The religion of the Jains enjoins the eradication of the hair at the ceremony of initiation. They go even so far as to say that the growth of hair breeds lice and thus leads to the destruction of life. The Jains, besides, declare that their first spiritual lord Rishabhadev came from a foreign country and we often find the word Barbar (Barbary) in their sacred books. Any one who observes Buddhist and Jain images, will remark that they are without beard or mustachio, thick lipped and curly haired, and thus bear a striking resemblance to the Egyptians, we mean the southern Egyptians

¹ Embalmed corpses are found in such abundance in Egypt that they are shipped off to England for manure. Hieroglyphics or picture writings are often found upon them. The following, a specimen, is the name of a person Aratsharsh. These embalmed corpses are in



English called Mummies (Momiyaí). We remember among the nursery tales we heard in our childhood that in Habash (Abyssinia) men make Momiyaí, a sort of medicine, from the blood of the slain. It is even now a common expression to say

when any one is much persecuted, "Is it intended to make Momiyaí of him?" It is possible these Mummies might have been the origin of such tales, and possessed medical virtues. But it is certain that Momiyaí, the medicine, is obtained from the earth, and is as black as coal. The Persian lexicon describes it as being soft like *mom* (wax) when dug out, and as hence called Momiyaí. At the present day, natives in Nainí Tál are afraid to venture out at night at certain seasons, when they say that a "Momiyaí Sáhib," supposed to be a Doctor, pitches his camp at the back of Chiná and catches natives in order to make a kind of medicinal oil of their bodies.

² The Buddhists state that other Buddhas existed before Śakya-muni Gautam Buddha; Krakuchand or Kukutsand, Kanak and Káśyap, are all supposed to have existed before him; and we find it mentioned in Buddhist literature, that topes (stúps) dedicated to them existed at Kási and Kapilavastu.

³ The people of Burmah still pluck out their hair.

or Nubiana.¹ Both believe in the doctrine of transmigration. In the Vedic religion however, metempsychosis finds no place. It is rather written therein that the Āryas were afraid of *Nirriti* the mother of *Nairriteyas* (Rākshas) or *Dasyus* and even paid homage to her evil power. The abode of her sons is fixed towards the South West (*Nairrit*) i. e. to-towards Egypt. There is little doubt the Chinese² and the Tartars also migrated to Hindustān via *Prabhukūṭhār* through which the *Brahmaputra* flows. The remnants of their descendants, viz. the *Nāgās*, *Luchās*, *Gārurs* and the *Khasiās* and other barbarous tribes still inhabit the jungles and hills of Āsām and Manipur. But they do not appear to have advanced beyond *Naypāl* and the *Bangāl* Presidency. Who knows that as crossing the *Narmadā* was prohibited, so, for similar reasons, going into the countries of *Ang*, *Bang* and *Kaling* had also to be expiated by penance.

IKSHVĀKU.

The Hindūs say that *Ikshvāku* was the first king and he reigned in *Ayodhyā*. The Vedists fix his date at about four millions of years. The Jains acknowledge him to be the ancestor of *Rishabhadev* whose age cannot be expressed in less than 21 figures, and were we to calculate the period of *Ikshvāku* accordingly, the whole book would perhaps be taken up by figures. The Europeans undertake to prove that he lived only about 4,000 years ago, but to ascertain exactly when he reigned, we have to depend entirely on a correct knowledge of the respective ages of his successors, because in the *Purāns* 56 kings of his dynasty are said to have held the sceptre before the accession of *Rām* and the same number after him. The last king was *Sumitra* and according to *Mr. Tod* was *Vikram's* contemporary. The pedigree of the present *Mahārāja* of *Jaypur* commences from him. If therefore we presume that each of the 112 kings lived for more than thousands of years, we shall have no difficulty in fixing *Ikshvāku's* reign at 4 millions or as many more as we like, but if according to *Manusmriti*, we take the life of man in *Satya Yug* to have been fourfold of what it is now; we find that the calculation of the Europeans is pretty correct.

¹ It may be surmised from a perusal of the Veds that the Non-Āryan races of the Deccan, the *Dasyus* or *Rākshas*, could not pronounce the letter *r* distinctly "*herayo herayah*" (हेरयो हेरयः) (O! enemies O enemies) they pronounced "*helayo helayah*" (हेलयो हेलयः). The Egyptians also pronounced *r* as *l*; *Haripurah* (हरिपुरः) they pronounced *Helio-polis*. *Heliopolis* was an ancient city of Egypt and is now a dilapidated ruin; but the tank dedicated to the sun still exists.

² There is no *r* in the Chinese alphabet; they pronounce it as *l*. The Burmese also do the same.

The average duration of the reign of each native prince within the last ten centuries is 10 years. Accordingly assuming that the 112 kings reigned 40 years each, the product will not be more than 4,480 years, the date of Ikshváku's reign. This calculation is for Satya Yug only, for Tretá and Dvápár, we shall have to fix the average reign of each king at 30 and 20 years respectively. This will diminish the above product. In the next place this genealogy is not considered trustworthy by the Europeans, because while in the Solar dynasty 56 kings reigned from Ikshváku to Rámachandra, in the lunar only 46¹ are mentioned from Budh the son-in-law of Ikshváku, and therefore his contemporary, to Yudhishtíra who lived according to the Hindús, much later than Rámachandra.² It seems incredible that fifty generations of the one should be co-eval with only 5 of the others.³ European science has found out another method of ascertaining ancient dates besides the genealogical tables. Every Ved contains astronomical treatises to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the days and hours of the Vedic sacrifices. These were no doubt written at the time the hymns of the Ved were collected and arranged into 4 parts by Vyás. In it the positions of certain planets and stars are so described⁴ that we can safely infer the treatises could have been written only a little more or less than three thousand years ago. Thus by ascertaining the era at which the Veds were collected, we can also approximately guess the dates of other books or persons. For instance we can deduce from this that the Manusmriti must have been written after the compilation of the Veds, as it constantly alludes to them; and that the condition of the people must have been the same as there described. Some Hindús will at once urge that Manu lived long before Vyás, that the Veds were compiled by the latter and that the date of Manusmriti cannot be fixed later than that of Vyás. They ought to reflect however that the Manusmriti was not written by Manu himself

¹ Budh's father Chandra progenitor of the lunar race was the son of Atri, and Súra the great progenitor of the solar race, was son of Daksha.

² Elphinstone calculates in his history according to some Purán, that Rám was the 63rd in the solar race, and Krishna 50th in the lunar.

³ From Ikshváku to Brihadrath and from him to Chandra Gupt the total number of kings mentioned is 150, and if each king be supposed to have reigned 20 years as an average, the total period is 3000 years, nearly the same as covered by Kaliyug. Who knows, but that the Kaliyug may have commenced from the time the Áryas settled in the country and that the legends of other Yugs may have relation to the time previous, but that the Bráhmans subsequently merging the two together fabricated history at pleasure.

⁴ "When the sun and the moon traversing the sky are together on the 25th mansion of the moon, the Sun's course be towards the north, and the month be Mágh Phálgun or Jeth, such a junction is Ádiyug." (स्वरा क्रमेते सोमावर्त्ता यदा साकसखासवेः स्यात्तदादि युगं माघस्तपः शुक्रायनं शुद्धक ॥)

as he is spoken of in the third person and moreover, he would never have said "Manu was sitting alone, and in deep contemplation when he was respectfully approached and addressed by the Munis after they had worshipped him &c." had it been written by him. It is distinctly stated at the end of the book that Bhṛigu was its writer.¹ Our countrymen are so deeply impressed with the idea of the enormous ages, wealth, strength and power of the ancients, that it is now almost impossible to efface it; but we can assure them that within any period open to historical inquiry, the size or the age of people was not more than what it is now. Alexander the Great who reigned more than 2,200 years ago, died at the age of thirty two only, and some of the mummies not less than three thousand years old disinterred from the ancient vaults of Egypt appear thinner than many sturdy and robust youths of the present day. If then there is no difference whatever between the size and the age of the people now living and those of the persons who died 3,000 years ago, who shall assure us that previously men were many miles in height and lived for thousands of years? Let our countrymen judge for themselves.

RAM CHANDRA AND AYODHYA.

We reverently bow to Vālmīki to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of Rām Chandra's reign. He is our first poet and his epic poem the Rāmāyan is so excellent that it takes a very high place among the books of its kind. Though this country was then still covered with extensive forests, Ayodhyā appears to have been well-peopled. Vālmīki has laid a beautiful description of it before us. Its roads and streets were straight and regular and sprinkled with water. It was adorned with handsome gardens, guardrooms or warders' residences were built over gateways of palaces, where instruments of music were sounded. Trains of chariots and crowds of soldiers could be seen here and there and banners and gonfalons flying over mansions, while on one side rope-dancers, acrobats and dancing-girls held their shews and performances. The music of the *bīn*, the twang of bows and sonorous voice of Brāhmans reading the Veds attracted the heart; while the fragrance of flowers and sweet scent of incense and burnt offerings filled the air. Horses of Kamboj and elephants from the Vindhya and Himālay mountains were abundant in the army. Ambassadors of foreign countries attended the Court. The houses were spacious and of equal height

¹ "Whoever being twice-born, reads this code of religious precepts recited by Bhṛigu, becomes perfect in religious observance and gains the desired state in the next world. (इत्येतन्मानवं शास्त्रं भगुरोक्तम्यठनं द्विजः। भवत्याचारवाचित्यं यथेष्टास्मान्मुयाद्वृत्तिम्॥) XII. 126.

and were erected symmetrically in rows, the walls being ornamented with mosaic work. Large earrings, armlets and necklaces were worn. The Bráhmans performed *agnihotra*, or the morning and evening oblations to the fire, and received gifts of not less than a thousand. In short, Ayodhyá according to the Rámáyan was as it were a mine of precious gems or abode of prosperity. It was nevertheless environed with such dense jungles that Daśaratha used to hunt elephants therein. It appears that they made long stages in journeys, for when Rám Chandra started from Ayodhyá on the right bank of the Sarayú in company with Viśvámitra, they reached its confluence with the Ganges only the next day; and Mithilá is represented as being only 4 stages distant from Ayodhyá. The paths lay entirely through wild tracts and the horses and bullocks were therefore perforce inured to long journeys. In our own day the late Maháráj Balavart Sinh of Bhartpur's two-wheeled carriages drawn by horses travelled from Bhartpur to Dillí a distance of 57 koses in one day. In the marriage of Rám Chandra Janak gave in dower valuable silk¹ and woollen clothes, precious jewels, carriages and soft skins of antelopes. When Bharadváj treated Bharat to a banquet at Prayág the flesh of antelopes, sheep, wild boars, partridges and peacocks was amongst the viands displayed, and exhilarating drinks of many kinds were offered to the guests. Viśvámitra having become a Bráhman, was treated only to honey sugar and so on. This leads us to conjecture that the restrictions as to food and drink have been imposed since those days, but we nowhere find that drinking spirituous liquors was then considered a sin. Sítá made a vow to offer one thousand pitchers of wine to Gangá (the Ganges). People then used to dry flesh in the sun and preserve it, as may be inferred from Rámchandra shooting wild animals and bringing them home, and Sítá drying their flesh in the sun². Spies were generally employed for bringing intelligence and Daśarath relied much on them.

Bharat brought asses to convey his luggage from his maternal grandfather's house. We also gather from the Rámáyan that the custom of smelling the head of a son then existed as Daśarath smelt that of Rámchandra. This custom still exists in some places in the Panjáb. When Daśarath died his funeral obsequies were performed with great solemnity. None of his wives became Satí (Suttee)³. His corpse

¹ Formerly silk cloth appears to have been exported from China, as the Sanskrit name for it is Chinánúuk (cloth of China). Who knows if *nainsuk* of our day be not a corruption of the same? Satin is derived from the French word *Zatony* which is perhaps identical with *Zayton*, a port somewhere in China.

² The savages of America still keep dried flesh for food.

³ Is it possible there may be two opinions as to whether the custom of *Satí* was good or bad, but we confess we are struck with horror at its very name. What sort of hear

was wrapped in a silk cloth and conveyed on a bier for cremation. A cow and a calf were sacrificed and ghí, oil, and flesh were distributed. The whole city went into mourning and the bázár was closed. Prayág was then a wilderness and the site of the hermitage of the sage Bhṛadváj. Rám crossed the Ganges in a boat and the Jamuná on a raft. The former was the limit of Kośal Ráj, in other words of the peopled country. The rest of Hindustán was covered except here and there with vast jungles on which no trace of human art had been impressed. They were inhabited by savages whom the Áryas called monkeys, bears, vultures, Rákshasas and night-roving monsters &c. Rávan the king of Lanká and a deadly enemy of the Veds must have belonged to the race of immigrants from Egypt or Assyria. His having written Bháshya a commentary on the Veds and having shaken the Kailás peak is obviously fabulous. The whole Southern country beyond the Narmadá was under subjection to him and was perhaps assigned to his brother as a satrapy. The monstrous names of his brothers Khar (an ass) Dúshañ (a villain) and of his sister Śúrpañakhá (having talons like a winnowing fan) are undoubtedly figments of Áryan malignity. Otherwise from the description of Lanká as given in the Rámáyan, we can plainly infer that the inhabitants of this island were in no way inferior to the Áryas. A younger brother was not prohibited from marrying the wife of his deceased elder brother. Viśvámitra imparted to Rám Chandra superior skill in using arms. This art appears to have been rather uncommon in those days; perhaps not every body was allowed to learn it and the few initiated in it probably tried to conceal it.¹ This will explain, why a Rájá was considered most powerful in those days and his weapons endowed with divine virtues, so that hundreds of Rákshasas or barbarians fled at his presence² as the savages of some islands will

and those who burnt alive their mothers, sisters or other relatives! No doubt, many a woman smitten with grief by the loss of her husband, when exhorted by the stoical Bráhmans, and told that her husband was waiting for her, and that they would both be raised to paradise in a heavenly car, if she joined him, but that otherwise the fiends of hell would drag her husband to the infernal regions, would esteem the blazing pyre a bed of flowers. Effect how long Col. Sleeman endeavoured to console the widow of Umed Bráhmaṇ, but in vain. She would not be comforted, but gave herself to the flames in his presence on the banks of the Narmadá A. D. 1829. But we have no doubt that such women are rare. The majority were burnt for fear of bringing dishonour upon their families. They were stupefied by intoxication, and then thrust upon the funeral pyre. Draupadī was taken to be burnt with the dead body of Kichak and when she attempted to run away she was thrust back at the sword's point. We invoke blessings on the British, seeing that this inhuman custom has been abolished by the Government of Lord Bentinck.

¹ Dronácharya declined to initiate the son of a king of Bhils into the art of war.

² In my opinion the stone weapons, such as knives, battleaxes, and points of spears found in the hills and the plains beyond the Narmadá, must have belonged to the Rákshasas, Dasyus and other savage people. They are discovered with the bones of such animals, as leave little or no doubt of their antiquity.

still fall prostrate to the ground at the discharge of a gun.¹ Women were not confined to their apartments; Kaikeyí accompanied Daśaratha in battles and Sítá shared Rám's exile. Yet women lived separate and their dwellings were called Antahpur or inner courts; Daśarath had many wives and yielded to a woman's perverseness. But Rám Chandra had only one wife and he regarded obedience to his father's behest as his paramount duty. Bharat and Lakshman shewed exemplary fraternal love. If we were asked the highest exemplar of charity, justice, righteousness, truth, love and courage, we should point to Rám.²

It is deeply to be regretted that the Rámáyan has not come down to us as written by Válmiki. The introductory Śloks (stanzas) shew that he did not compose them,³ while the whole of the Uttar Kánd was incorporated afterwards as the word *Uttar* itself implies.

MAHÁBHARAT.⁴

After the Rámáyan, the age of the Mahábhárat engages our attention. The population had increased; powerful kings are mentioned who came from every quarter and took part in the dire contest of Kurukshetra.⁵ The rulers of Afghánistán, Persia, Turkistán, Tibbat,

¹ An Englishman was once surrounded by hosts of Beduin Arabs. He happened to have a revolver about him, which he said possessed magical virtue, and in consequence would not fail, though fired a thousand times, and would thus cause havoc amongst them. In proof of this he discharged upwards the three barrels in succession, whereupon the whole host vanished at once taking him for no other than Satan himself, and raising loud imprecations of horror.

² Rám would have been a perfect model of virtue, had he not slain Báli by treachery, and thrust out the pregnant Sítá into the wilderness. He meant to shew the world perhaps that man is not impeccable. Be this as it may there was some show of excuse for sending away Sítá, but none for treacherously murdering Báli.

³ "Válmiki addressed Nárada, the holiest ascetic, the best of all speakers, and always engaged in devotion, self-contemplation, and the study of the Veda." (तपस्वी वाग्विदाम्बरम् । नारदम् परि पप्रच्छ वाल्मीकिर्मुनिपुङ्गवम् ॥ १ ॥)

⁴ At the time of the war of the Mahábhárat, Magadh was ruled by Sahadev. Ajátáśatru was the 35th King from him, in whose time Sákya Muni Gautam Buddh attained to Nirváp in 543 B. C. Supposing the average reign of each extended over 26 years, the period of the Mahábhárat is fixed at 1453 B. C.

⁵ Bharat a descendant of the lunar line and king of Hastinápur on the Gangá had two sons Dhritaráshtra and Páṇḍu. The elder being blind Páṇḍu succeeded to the crown, but subsequently retired to the wilderness with his wife Kuntí the aunt of Krishṇa, and with his five sons, Yudhishtir, Arjun, Bhím, Nakul and Sahadev leaving the kingdom to Dhritaráshtra. On his death the widowed queen Kuntí settled with her sons at Hastinápur. Dhritaráshtra had one hundred sons called the Kauravs, the eldest was Duryodhan who cherished malice and envy against the Páṇḍavs or the sons of Páṇḍu, especially after his father had declared Yudhishtir heir apparent. The blind monarch knew this and to prevent any open rupture between his sons and nephews ordered the latter to remove to a place on the banks of the Jamuná, the site of the present Dillí, (Delhi) where they founded

Tátár and other countries of Upper Asia were closely related to the rival powers. Duryodhan's mother was named Gánhári and his aunt Mádrí. Gándhár was undoubtedly the modern Kandhár, and Madra lay somewhere near Ghazní and Ghor where the followers of Alexander the Great fixed the site of the ancient city Mardi which appears to be a corruption of Madra. There were separate Rájás (kings) for different tracts. *Samráṭ* (सम्राट्) Supreme Ruler was only an empty title. To command the attendance of the Rájás in a *Yajna* and to receive presents and curiosities from them were the only rights pertaining to it; and these could not be exercised without an appeal to arms. The tragic war of the Mahábhárat is famous, but it was waged neither to repel a foreign invasion nor to depose a tyrant at home, but merely to adjust a domestic quarrel between two cousins. Let us see however what sort of adjustment it was. This was to be a *Dharmayuddha* or contest conducted according to the laws of honour; but who observed its sacred conditions? Men fought with sticks, clubs, maces, stones, feet, and hands and teeth and nails like furious savages. It was not a regular action between opposite forces, but simply the wrestling of champions of both sides. One seizes a foe by his hair, pulls it out and lacerates his abdomen with his nails. Another chops off his opponent's head and dances to and fro in savage ecstasy. Bhím sitting on the breast of his cousin, Duhśásan cuts his throat, quaffs off a handful of his blood and with a fiendish chuckle cries that he never before drank so sweet a draught. His aunt Gándhári curses him in that he drank her son's blood. He denies it, telling her that he merely took it to his lips. This ruthless Bhím kicked the wounded Duryodhan on his head while he lay helpless and bleeding in the dust. To dress his wound was of course out of the question, but nobody even cared to ask whether he was thirsty. Earthen vessels full of deadly snakes, scorpions and red hot dust and boiled oil were placed on battlements and towers, where batteries are now placed—such was their ammunition!

Primitive simplicity had worn away and tokens of luxury had begun to appear. The difference between the description of Válmíki's Ayodh-

their capital Indraprasth. There Yudhishtíra celebrated his famous ceremony Rájásúy Yajna which greatly irritated Duryodhan. He enticed Yudhishtíra to a gambling match in which Yudhishtíra lost all he had even to his wife Draupadí. The Pándavs by the command of Dhritarashtra went into exile for 12 years, and the 13th year they spent in disguise in the service of Rájá Virát. They afterwards led an army with their partizans against the Kauravs and fought the great battle of Kurukshetra in which Duryodhan was slain; only three of his party escaping the general wreck while the Pándavs also lost all their followers and allies with the exception of Krishna. Yudhishtíra now became sovereign, but reigned only for a short time and being struck with grief retired to the northern snows.

yá and that of the Indraprastha of the Mahábhárat is striking; Vyás relates that the latter had been built by May Daitya so marvellously that water looked like land and land like water; walls appeared to have doors and windows where there were none, and when they did exist in reality they seemed solid as the wall. Yudhishthir must have certainly come into possession of mirrors which produced such effects. May was probably called a Daitya (an enemy of the gods) as he may have come from Asia Minor or other western countries. A good sort of glass still bears the name Halabí, belonging to Halab (Aleppo).¹

Independence, heroism, generosity, truthfulness, love and friendship were still to be found, but fraud, wickedness, dishonesty and ungodliness abounded. Our Pandits have rightly observed that virtue had only two feet left in the Dvápar age. Now the following acts will be considered abominable in the Kali-yug; the illicit intercourse of the ascetic Parásar father of Vyás with a fisherwoman; Vyás begetting children by the widowed queens and a handmaid; Bhím and Balarám drinking themselves drunk; Kíchak the brother-in-law of king Virát² seizing Draupadí by her hair and kicking her in the open assembly, Virát quietly looking on; Yudhishthir, lord of justice and incarnation of virtue, gambling away his wife Draupadí; Duryodhan sending for his sister-in-law in public and bidding her to sit on his lap; his brother Duhśásan dragging her by the braid and stripping her of her clothes; Krishṇa slaying Jarásandh by craft; Yudhishthir lying away the life of his preceptor Droṇáchárya, causing the death of his nephew Abhimanyu by sending him right into the heart of the *chakravyúh* or phalanx of the enemy, keeping this order secret from Arjun in consequence of remorse and reproaching him for having fled the presence of Karṇa as well as scornfully bidding him to lay down his arms; Arjun thereupon drawing his sword to slay him; Bhím striking Duryodhan below the thigh with a mace against the laws of club fighting, and so on.³ The laws of marriage were not definitely ascertained. A man could marry three wives (sisters) while a woman could have five husbands (brothers) at one time.⁴ The wife of a vanquished enemy could be taken as lawful wife by the

¹ It is written in the Qurán that King Solomon led the queen of Sheba to a palace which had a crystal floor, where fancying she had to wade through water she lifted her apparel.

² The people of Gujráat point out the site of Virátpur or Matsyanagar southward of where Dholká is now situated, but the people of Bangal point to Dinájpur as being identical with Matsyanagar and the ruined forts as belonging to Virát and Kíchak.

³ And why Kaliyug? If we consider the chivalrous honour of the combatants in the late Franco-Prussian war we shall be obliged to call the present Satya and the age of the Mahábhárat Kaliyug.

⁴ This custom still prevails amongst the Bhotíás.

victor.¹ To ravish a weeping maiden from the arms of her friends is recognised by Manu as one sort (though censurable) of marriage. The influence of the Bráhmans had begun to wax. The importance they had attained by exhorting men to piety and shewing them the way of virtue gradually led to indulgence and luxury. They encroached on the province of the rulers more and more every day. A king becoming disrespectful to a Bráhman might despair not only of his crown but also of his life. But when a Bráhman murdered a Śúdra he underwent the same penalty as was prescribed for killing a cat, a dog, a lizard or a crow.² Krishna washed the feet of the Bráhmans in the famous Rájsúy Yajna of Yudhishtir. On this occasion a chariot wrought in gold came from Balkh; a hill monarch sent in a pair of milk-white horses, another a ladder, and a third a pennon for it. Horses, partridge-coloured and having mouths like bills of parrots, woollen stuffs, sables, ermines and other costly and rich furs from Kamboj; iron ware and swords with ivory hilts from regions beyond the Oxus; woollens and silk from mountain heights; black and white yak-tails from Tibbat; Dakshinavarta conchs, pearls, corals and precious stones from Ceylon; aloes, sandalwood, and perfumes of sandal in golden phials from the Karnátak—these amongst others constituted the presents to that king. In short all the valuable productions of the countries from Bukhárá to Ceylon are mentioned. Most of these are to the present day sent in by the petty hill chieftains as presents to the Governor General of India. It is difficult to imagine what would have been the thoughts of Maharáj Yudhishtir, had he seen the Crystal Palace and all the beautiful, rare, and wonderful things of the world collected therein at the London Exhibition of 1851. The catalogue of these formed perhaps a larger volume than the Mahábhárat itself. Whatever their state, the kings of the age of the Mahábhárat were, in my opinion, no better than those still to be found in some out of the way mountain districts. The ancestors of the Kauravs and Pándavs cleared the forest on the bank of the Gangá and founded Hastinápúr there. When a dispute arose between the two, the latter betook themselves to the Khándav forest, burnt it and built the city of Indraprastha. Duryodhan having been killed,

¹ What would be the case if the Emperor of Germany tried to make the widowed Empress of the late Louis Napoleon his wife? It is because so punctilious a regard is shewn to honour that the people of Europe have been able to attain to so high a degree of social prosperity.

² On killing a cat, a weasel, a peacock, a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl or a crow, a Bráhman should expiate himself by the same penance which he has to undergo for killing a Śúdra"—(मार्जारनकुलो हत्या चावमंडूकमेव च । श्वगोधोलूककाकांश्च शूद्रहत्या व्रतं वरेत्)

Dhritarāshṭra retired with his family to a forest in the vicinity of Hastināpur, where they were all destroyed by a fire which broke out. On leaving Indraprastha, the Pāṇḍavs sojourned for some time in Vārāṇavat near Allahabad which in Antardedī (Gangetic Doāb) was as it were the end of the Āryan settlement. Ekachakra which they visited and which was not far off, was also an Āryan settlement, but the outskirts were all occupied by the non-Āryan population, who were powerful enough to extort food from the former. Their character and mode of living may be gathered from a single instance. Arjun was one night sleeping at Indraprastha when some one complained that his cattle were being driven away by robbers. Arjun fetched his arms from Yudhisṭhira's apartment, pursued the robbers and brought the cattle back. In our days the princes might have left the matter to the police.

STATE OF SOCIETY PRIOR TO BUDDHA.

I have already said that the Āryas were originally worshippers of the sun ; whatever they ate they offered in burnt and meat offerings to their gods. They were simple and strong and had little to do besides eating, drinking and enjoying themselves. There were then no insurmountable caste distinctions. People were divided into classes solely with regard to their avocations and walks of life. The Āryas nicknamed the Aborigines or Śūdras variously as Dasyus, Rākshasas, Ugras, Piśāchas, Asurs, Ajāsas, Yakshas, Śigravs, Kikaṭs &c., trampled upon them as slaves, and debarred them from progress in every way. All sorts of labour and service were exacted from them. Their women could be kept by the three Varnas with impunity, but it was in an evil hour that any Śūdra happened to have intercourse with an Āryan woman—he was brought to severe punishment. They were strictly forbidden to amass wealth ; they were in short the property of their Āryan masters and so it was of course impossible for them to acquire property. If any Śūdra professed to teach, scalding oil was poured into his mouth. Why should we say the worst ? They were not reckoned as human beings. Amongst the Āryas, those who performed and assisted at the sacrifice were called Brāhmins, and these were the highest class ; those who fought and governed, were called Kshatriyas (Kshāyathiya and Kshathra of the Irānian inscriptions); the rest, Vaiśyas or agriculturists (the people or commons). For this reason a Rājā was termed *Viśaspati* and *Viśāmpati* or Lord of the Vaiśyas just as he is now called *Nripati*, *Narapati*, *Nareś* and *Nara-*

¹ Fortunately for village school teachers this is not the age of Manu, otherwise a great many of them would have died by having boiling oil poured down their throats.

nāh (a Lord of men). There is no doubt that the Śúdras were regarded as no better than moveable property like cattle. But how long can a vessel of wood be heated without taking fire? As the population increased the Āryas gradually lost the vigorous blood of the northern climes. Several hybrid races sprang from their connection with the non-Āryan women. Intelligence began, though viewed with jealousy by the Āryas, to develop among the aborigines. Their eyes opened to the fact that the Āryas were men of like nature with themselves and shared with them the strength and weakness of mankind. They could therefore no longer endure that the whole race of the Śúdras should remain sunk in slavery merely for the enjoyment and comfort of a few Bráhmans. It is a general rule that an institution based on the sacrifice of the interests of many for the benefit of a few has not long to last. What a terrible struggle for instance, in 1864 ensued between the Northern and Southern States of the American Union, for the emancipation of the slaves, and how has the present foresighted Czar of Russia raised his *serfs* from predial bondage to the state of free tillers of the soil. But the Bráhmans proudly relied on the Ved, feeling well assured that none would be able to celebrate its ritual without them, and declaring that the safety of all depended upon the sacrifices.¹ At last Mahávir Śákya Muni Gautam Buddha² for the first time shook the authority of the Ved and preached to all the world that *Himsá* (destruction of life) was a sin.³ He also declared that the Āryan and non-Āryan races, men as well as women, were all alike free to follow a religious life and introduced a more liberal creed among the people.⁴ It was now autumn for the Sanskrit and spring for the Prákrit. The Vedists grew pale as morning stars, the

¹ It is written in the Bhagavad-gítá "Earthly beings live upon food which is produced by rain and this depends upon Yajnas (offering of sacrifices) the right performance of which viz. *Karma* depends on the Veds"—(अज्ञात्प्रवृत्तिं भूतानि पर्जन्यादन्नसंभवः । यज्ञात्प्रवृत्तिं पर्जन्यो यज्ञः कर्मसमुत्भवः) Again in Manusmriti "Libations poured into the sacred fire reach the sun who causes rain to produce food, the support of beings on this earth"—(अग्नीं प्रास्तावृत्तिः सम्यगादित्यमुपतिष्ठते । आदित्याज्जायते दृष्टिदृष्टेरन्नं ततः प्रजाः).

² Jayadev alludes to Gautam Buddha in his lyrical drama "Gít Govind" when he addresses Krishna, thus "O thou almighty God, Lord of the earth, thou didst take upon thee incarnation as Buddha" (केशवधत्तबुद्धशरीरेण जगदीशहरे).

³ Herodotus the Greek historian who flourished B. C. 420 states that the Arhants (Aritonii) of Hindustán did not eat flesh.

⁴ Similarly Jesus Christ liberated the people of Asia Minor, Greece and Egypt from the yoke of priest-craft. His preaching and that of Buddha are much alike. The learned Professor Max Müller praises Buddha in the following terms:— "Buddha has been misrepresented through the deifying properties of time, in the religious code that has come down to us as the exponent of his creed and tenets. There was never a more purely human faith preached by any founder of a religion than Buddha."

Śúdras, the bulk of the population,' bloomed like lotus flowers, before the rising sun.

BUDDHA.

Śákya Muni Gautam Buddha was the son of Śuddhodan¹ a king of the Solar dynasty and was born in 623 B. C. His father's original name was Siddhártha.² His capital Kapilavastu³ was situated to the north of the Gangá. His mother Máyá had died in his infancy and he was nursed by his mother's sister Gautamí. He was initiated in 64 Vidyás (sciences) which included Yavan (Greek) and Hún⁴ also. When 16 years old, his father caused three palaces for the three seasons to be erected for him. Yaśodhará was his principal queen. Meeting an old

¹ The census of the North-Western Provinces taken in 1865 discloses that the total Bráhmán population is 34,51,692, Kshatriy, 23,27,768, Vaiśya 10,91,250 and Śúdra 1,83,04,309, that is to say the servile class is more than double of the three classes taken together.

² Who knows but that the word Śákya may have been derived from Śak, that the ancestors of Buddha were of this race and that they were considered as Kshatriyas merely by reigning over kingdoms. Hordes of Scythians (Śaks) invaded India from Tartary till the time of Vikram who is sometimes called Śakátri, "a foe of Śaks." It is not unlikely that the Śákadvípí bráhmáns were priests of these barbarians. Scythia was then a part of Tartary. It is related in the old Jain books that in 74 B. C. Gardabhillá king of Ujjain carried off a sister of Kálíkāchárya disciple of Guṇákar Śūri, son of the Rájá of Dháravás, whereupon the wronged brother went over to the Śaks (Scythians) and persuaded them to attack the ravisher and thus recovered his sister. Vikram expelled these barbarians from Ujjain; but in the 135th year of his era Śáliváhan was crowned king at Pratiśthán, on the banks of the Godávari. He established his own era called Śakábdá. The Bráhmáns call him the son of a potter, and in order to hide his Scythian origin have invented various stories about him.

³ When Śákya Muni claimed to be a Buddha, he stated that twentyfour Buddhas had existed before him.

⁴ It is recorded in the Buddhist scriptures that on the same day Śákya Muni Gautam Buddha was born, Udáyanavatsa son of Satínk king of Kauśámbí was also born, who afterwards made a sandal image of Buddha. The Jain sacred writings also inform us that this Udáyan was a contemporary of Mahávír Svámí and was then reigning at Bítabhayá-pattan in the country of Sindhu Sauvír, that he embraced the Jain creed and that he had a sandal image of Mahávír Svámí for which he fought with Chandrapadyotan king of Ujjain. Kálidás states in the Meghdút that there were many persons in Ujjain who knew the deeds of Udáyan.

⁵ The Jains allege Mahávír their 24th Tírthanakar (sage) to have been the son of Siddhártha and Indra Bhúti Gautam, a disciple of Mahávír's.

⁶ Kámpil the sacred place of the Jains is still to be seen on the banks of the Gangá near the hermitage of Kapil Muni in the District of Farrukhabád, where they say, their 13th Tírthanakar (sage) Bimalanáth died. But according to Fa-Hian, Kapilavastu ought to be in the district of Bastí near Nágár.

⁷ The Húns were a horde of Tartar barbarians who pouring down from the north invaded the Roman empire in the 5th century of the Christian era. We do not know whether Buddha was acquainted with Greek, and Hún the ancient language of Tartary, but it is certain that the princes of that time considered the knowledge of these languages as necessary as that of Persian and English is considered now. Many believe that the Ják (Getæ) came with the Húns into this country from Tartary.

infirm man one day his spirits were depressed as he reflected that youth is as evanescent as moonlight, and that man is overpowered by old age which renders him pitiable and helpless. At the sight of a sick person another day he felt more dejected and perceived that human life was full of misery. He next happened to see a corpse and took to heart the thought that the body which man loves so much and in the pride of which he walks so arrogantly, and for whose sake he neglects to discern good and evil, is perishable and transitory like a bubble of water and must one day turn to dust. The same day tidings of his son's birth were brought him, but he did not rejoice and named the child Ráhu. He felt so perturbed that night that he could not sleep; and as he lay awake the snoring and muttering¹ of his queens in sleep and their disordered apparel estranged him more from the world. Early in the morning he rode off to the wilderness and passing through Viśálí and crossing the Gangá went over to Rájagrah,² then in the height of its prosperity, and began to ask alms. Vimbasár the king of that place came out to receive him intending to detain him there, but he said he did not want riches and had fled far away from home and from sensual pleasures only in search of true knowledge. He then went to the Bráhmans in the hills near Gayá and read with Rudrak and Arandakalam the six systems of philosophy, namely the Mímánsá, Vedánt, Sánkhya, Nyáy, Vaiśeshik and Yog. But his mind was not satisfied with this study, and with five disciples of the Śákya race he engaged in austere penance for six years until his body was reduced to a mere skeleton. He perceived that weakness of intellect follows constitutional debility and that asceticism was therefore certainly not the way to become perfect or a Buddha (enlightened). He then returned amongst men and began to beg alms. When he regained his strength, the five disciples seeing his mind unsteady left his company and joined a hermitage in Banáras. Thus left alone he went back to

¹ To keep a large seraglio was considered the height of luxury in former days. In the Mahábhárat we read of princes having many thousand wives. See how many women surrounded the bed of Dhrashtadyumna commander of the Pápdava's forces on the night of the Kurukshetra war. We suppose that the keeping of such large seraglios tended to estrange the hearts of many from the world, who left home for the desert in search of happiness. For this reason perhaps our poets have sung of woman, the better half of man, disparagingly. We are very much pleased with the admiring tone of the Rámáyana with respect to monogamy. It relates that while Hanumán saw Rávan sleeping surrounded with numerous women, Rám gave his heart solely to Sítá. Those who admire and wish to imitate the unspotted life and character of Rám are content with only one wife, while others who follow Rávan in keeping many wives are generally ruined in the end. Krishná is said in the Puráns to have the greatest number of wives, but what was the result? Many of his wives were carried off by Bhils, others burnt themselves at Kurukshetra and the remainder secluded themselves in forests.

² Rájagrah is described by the Jains to have been the scene of a Kalyánuak of Subrat Svámi their 20th Tirthankar.

the wilderness, where under a Pípal tree at night he felt assured that he had attained to the desired quiescence and perfection and risen to the rank of Buddha. He then sang the song.¹ It is related in the sacred books of the Buddhists that he remained in an attitude of deep contemplation for forty-nine days. At last on the full moon of Asárh (June) 588 B.C. he appeared at Isipatan Vihár near the Deer-Park in Banáras, communed² with his five companions about his becoming Buddha and exhorted them to piety. The first words delivered by this Śákya Muni Gautam Buddha were "Be virtuous, be righteous, spread the banner of piety, beat its drum, and blow its trumpet."³ He proved satisfactorily that emancipation of soul was impossible without true knowledge,⁴ and true knowledge was unattainable by means of animal sacrifices. He condemned destruction of life and extolled mercy. He preached the same religion to all classes alike, for what is good to one must be equally so to the other. The Bráhmans became his bitter enemies, but the others, kings⁵ as well as subjects, supported him, rejoicing in their liberation from the yoke of priestcraft. However he lived in the same Vihár at Banáras with his five disciples during the whole of that rainy season.⁶ No animal was killed in that neighbourhood. He made many proselytes. Bimbasár king of Rájagrah or Magadh caused a Vihár named Kalandak

¹ Here is the song and its translation अनेकजातिसंसारं संधाविस्माननिवृत्तसन् । गृहकारणगविस्सन्तोदक्खाजातिपुनप्पुनम् ॥ गृहकारकं दित्थोसि पुनगेहं न काहसि । सव्वत्ते फासकाभग्गा गृहकूतं विसंखितम् ॥ विसंखारगतं चित्तं तन्हानं खयमज्जग्गा "Performing my pilgrimage through the (Sansár) eternity of countless existences, in sorrow have I unremittingly sought in vain, the artificer of the abode (of the passions), i. e. the human frame. Now, O artificer! thou art found. Henceforth no receptacle of sin shalt thou form, thy frame (literally ribs) broken, thy ridge-pole shattered. The soul (or mind) emancipated from liability to new states of mundane existence (by transmigration), has annihilated the dominion of the passions."

² This spot must certainly have been close to Sárnáth because by digging the earth Buddhist images and foundations of the old Buddhist architecture are still to be discovered. Topes (stúps) are also extant which are called Dhamekh by the people of Banáras. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this word may be a corruption of Dharma Mrig. Close to this scene is a temple of the Jains where they suppose a Kalyáṇak of their 11th Tīrthankar Śreyáns took place.

³ "धर्मं कुरु धर्मं कुरु प्रसारय धर्मध्वजां प्रताडय धर्मतुंगुभिं प्रपूरय धर्मशंखम्"

⁴ The Veds also state there is no emancipation of the soul without Jñán (knowledge) "ज्ञते ज्ञानाच्मृत्तिः"

⁵ The Bráhmans have provided in their code of laws (Manusmṛiti) that kings ought to entertain no other but a Bráhman as a prime minister to advise them in state affairs, and that if a Bráhman commits an offence which, when perpetrated by persons of other classes is punishable with death, his head should be shaved and he should then be banished the kingdom with his family and property. This calls to our memory a saying in Persian which is very typical of self-interest "Mine is the hand, mine the mouth, if I do not feed myself it is my own loss." (دست خود و دهان خود گر نخورم زیان خود).

⁶ Among the Jains, travelling in the rainy season is prohibited.

to be made for him in a bamboo grove near his capital. Moglán or Maudgaláyan and Śáriputra were his renowned disciples. Ānand was his relative.¹ These three always lived with him. A king of Málvá² came to hear his doctrines. Śákya went to Śravasti³ capital of Rájá Prasenajit⁴ king of Kośal, who embraced his doctrine and caused Vihárs to be made. Meanwhile Ajátaśatru had murdered his father Bimbásár probably at the instigation of the Bráhmans. He was inimical to the Buddhist religion. Prasenajit was likewise dethroned by his son. Gautam then went away to Kapilavastu where a Vihár was erected in a grove of banyan trees. The people of the Śákya race sent him one man out of every family. Ajátaśatru's antipathy to the new religion gradually relaxed and Gautam again repaired to Magadh. Paṭná was then only a village and he had to tarry there in the station of couriers. He thence passed to Viśálí⁵ governed by a queen like Jezebel, where the custom of marriage did not exist and the government was really in the hands of women. He lodged in her garden. She came to visit him in her chariot in great pomp and splendour, listened to his exhortation and treated him to a great banquet the next day. Thence he moved to Pává,⁶ where he was received in a mango grove by a goldsmith named Chandú, and from that place he went to Kuśínár. Here according to the Buddhists, his Nirván (death, absorption, or annihilation)⁷

¹ Bones of these missionaries have been discovered under the topes at Sanchi near Bhilsá. The caskets containing them have the names of each inscribed on them in the old Devanágari or Páli character as follows:—

स	रि	पु	त	स	म	हा	मो	ग	ला	न	स
Sá	rí	pu	ta	sa	Ma	há	mo	ga	lá	na	sa

Tishya father of Śáriputra was a man of great learning and his mother Śáriká was also very learned. She surpassed her brother in a contentious exhibition of Vedic learning.

² The Jains assert that Ānand was a (Śrávak) disciple of Mahávir's.

³ Chandrapradyot or Chandapradhyotan king of Ujjain is said by the Jains to have come to see Mahávir.

⁴ It appears that Ayodhyá had by this time been depopulated. In its vicinity lie the ruins of Śrávasti in a wilderness within the territory of the Maháraj of Balarámpur. The Jains affirm that their ninth Tírthankar Subuddhináth had a Kalyápak there, but the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages call it Sahat Mahat and some also Sávatthí.

⁵ The Jains state that Prasenajit's capital was Kuśágrapurapattan and that his son Śrenak or Śrenik made Rájagrah his metropolis in the time of Mahávir.

⁶ According to the Jains Viśálí or Viśálá was ruled by Cheṭak at the time of Mahávir. The ruins of this town called Bassahar are still to be seen in the district of Tirhut north of Paṭná.

⁷ The Jains state that the death (nirván) of Mahávir took place at Pávápur, but this does not appear to have stood on the place now called by that name. The real Pává ought to be west of Viśálí and north of the Gangá.

⁸ The death (nirván) of the last Tírthankar of the Jains occurred according to them 423 years before Vikram's Samvat or in 525 B. C., the nirván of Pársvanáth the 23rd Tírthankar had taken place 250 years before this.

took place B. C. 543 at the age of 80 years under a sál tree, while he was lying on his left side. In his last hours he addressed those present to the effect that what was perishable must perish and hence they should not procrastinate in making themselves fit for liberation from mundane existence (Nirván). Kuśínár was at that time peopled by Mallis.¹ His corpse wrapped in cloth and cotton was laid in a vessel of metal full of oil and burnt on a pyre of sandal wood. The people sprinkled perfumed waters over it and sang and played music for seven days.² Eight portions of the ashes were measured out to the inhabitants of Magadh and Tírhút,³ the ninth consisted of the embers and the tenth of the vessel measuring the ashes and the bones. Ten stúps were erected over these ten portions and two others were raised over each of his teeth at Gandhár and Dantapur in Kaling. Aftersome time Ajátaśatru collected the nine portions together and reared a great monument (stúp) at his capital Rájagrah. But when Aśok became king he distributed the remains over all India and caused stúps to be erected over them at different places. Before his death Gautam had told Káśyap 'to wear his mantle and he therefore succeeded him. Moglán had died and Śáriputra remained at Rájagrah. Káśyap at once saw that schism in the church was imminent and called together 500⁴ Arhats⁵ or elders at Rájagrah. He got Ajátaśatru to cut out a spacious hall⁶ in front of the Satapanní cave on the side of Mount Vaibhár. The first conference of the 500 elders was held there. Anand a regular companion of his master read out the articles of faith (dharma), and the Śúdra Upálí lectured on the precepts (vinay). Afterwards separate portions of these were entrusted to different elders for preservation; but several Rájás in succession showed hostility to the new religion. It made little progress. The people became demoralized. After Ajátaśatru three Rájás one after the other killed their fathers and ascended the throne of Magadh. Anarchy followed, so that people in alarm placed the prime minister Śíśu Nág the son of the prostitute queen of Viśálí on the throne. He was a very sagacious monarch. His son Kál Aśok called by the Bráhmans Kákavarṇa fixed the capital at Paṭṇá, named successively

¹ The Jains relate that Mallikí Rájá was present at the *nirván* of Mahávír. The name of their nineteenth Tíর্থankar was Mallináth.

² According to the Jains Mahávír's body was also dealt with in the same way.

³ Topes were erected over each of these eight portions at Rájagrah, Viśálí, Kapilavastu, Rámagrám, Betthadiyá, Pává, Kuśínár and Piphalíban. Who knows but that Betiyá may be a corruption of Betthadiyá?

⁴ Mahávír belonged to the Káśyap Gotra (family of Kaśyap) according to the Jains.

⁵ Sudharmá the chief of Mahávír's followers is said to have had 500 disciples.

⁶ The next grade immediately below a Buddha was an Arhant, Arhat, or Arhan, called also Bodhisatva, and then a Pratyek.

⁷ Sonabhandár is still extant and it is not unlikely that this was the hall alluded to in the text. Several such cavities are cut out of the rocks in the vicinity of Rájagrah in the Barábar hills.

Pushpapur, Pátalipur, and Pátaliputra.¹ In the mean time difference of opinion had actually arisen in the monastery of Viśálí and all the Buddhists united in bringing Revat Sthavir,² a very old man from Soron in a boat and according to his direction the second convocation of 700 elders chosen out of 1200, was held in 443 B. C. at Bálukárám, the Vihár of Viśálí, with the assistance of Kál Áśok, when the articles of faith and precepts were revised. Disorder ensued after Kál Áśok, and kings owned neither by the Bráhmans nor by Buddhists, accounts of whom have not been recorded by either, reigned until the accession of Nand and the invasion of the Panjáb by Alexander the Great.

ALEXANDER AND CHANDRA GUPT.

Part of Hindustán was in possession of the Persians, and about the year 500 B. C., Darius Hystaspes, son of Viśtásp, had conquered the whole of the Panjáb and Sindh. The 19 satrapies of Persia yielded him a revenue of 2,96,40,000 rupees, while this province alone gave him 129,00,000 rupees in gold. His court was attended both by white and black Hindús, in other words by men of the Áryan and non-Áryan races. It is said that he could converse himself with the former and through interpreters with the latter. We are not surprised at this because the old Persian was closely allied to the Sanskrit. It was by his order that the route of the Indus was opened, and his Admiral Scylax sailed through it and the Red sea to Egypt—an achievement not less important in those days than the sailing of Vasco-de-Gama round the Cape of Good Hope to Calicut (Kalkíkot). When Xerxes the son of Darius led an expedition against Greece, there were some Hindú soldiers in his army. At length Alexander the Great (son of Philip of Macedon) defeated the Persian king Darius the Third (Codomanus), and subsequently crossing the Indus advanced as far as the Satlaj. He was led by the king of Taxila (Takshaśilá) to Jalálábád on the southern bank of the river Cophenes

¹ The Jains assert that Śregik's son Kopik, Kúník or Kanik was the same as Áśoka-chandra who made Champápúr near Bhágálpur his chief town. His son Udáyí dying without issue the people raised Nand to the throne. Nand removed the capital to Patná. He and his eight successors called Navanand (nine Nands) all professed the Jain religion. The last Nand was murdered by Chánakya 155 years after Mahávir's *nirvāṇ* in 372 B. C. Chánakya placed Chandragupt on the throne, but there seems some discrepancy in this chronology unless Chandragupt reigned more than 50 years, because Alexander died in 323 B. C. and Chandragupt was still living in the time of Seleucus Nikator successor of Alexander.

² Sthavir and Arhat mean one and the same thing in both the Buddhist and Jain literature.

³ The Musalmáns often affix the title of *Zulqarnain* to the name of Alexander. It has two meanings, one "aged 60 years" and the other "one who has two horns." The first is inapplicable to the case of Alexander as he died at the age of 32, but the latter can certainly refer to him as his coin having his image bears two horns on the head like a ram's which are probably the symbol of his god Jupiter Ammon.

(Kuphen) and thence by the Khyber (Khaibar) Pass to Attock (Aṭak). The army crossed the Indus by means of a bridge of rafts. A king named Supethes (Supatis) presented Alexander with hounds and another brought him two pounds of steel. The Bráhmans affected a very low opinion of the Yavans (Greeks) and showed themselves their enemies. Alexander proceeded as far as Tatta (Ṭaṭṭhá) near the mouth of the Indus. His followers have related that its banks were inhabited by an agricultural population who were entirely under the control of their sovereign and the Bráhmans. He once sent for some religious ascetics in order to see them, but they refused to come to him. He then sent his general who states that he found fifteen persons stark naked exposed to a burning sun, some sitting, some standing and some lying, but remaining immovable in the posture they had adopted. He also gives an account of two Bráhmans whom he met at Taxila beyond the Indus. One was shaved and the other wore matted hair. As they passed, people poured sesamum oil upon them and offered them cakes of sesamum and honey. They came to dine with Alexander and when they had taken food, the former lay down exposed to the sun and the rain, and the latter stood all day on one foot leaning on a staff. One of them named by the Greeks, Kalanos Sarman Cheya (Kalyán Śarmaṇachárya) of Baroach (Bharauch) accompanied Alexander, but on arriving at Pasargada (Pasargarhá) burnt himself on a funeral pyre.¹ Alexander died at Babylon in 323 B. C. His generals quarrelled amongst themselves, and Eudemones Governor of the Panjáb treacherously murdered Porus and taking his 120 elephants marched away towards Bactria or Balkh. This so exasperated the Hindús against their Greek conquerors that when Seleucus one of Alexander's generals, to whose lot Babylon and the adjacent territories of the Empire had fallen, came to restore order, he found the country between the Indus and Paṭná under the rule of Chandragupt (the son of Nand) whom the Greeks called Sandrocottes or Sandrocuptes. The Greek and Roman writers have related that this king subdued an extensive kingdom and brought it under his sovereignty. After the departure of Alexander, he liberated the people of Hindustán from the foreign yoke and established his own authority over them. He was born of a Śúdrá woman named Murá and his father was also born of a Śúdrá mother. It is said that he uttered something so harsh and arrogant in the presence of Alexander that he would have forfeited his life, had he not saved himself by flight.³ His courage may be inferred from the Puráns

¹ Strabo writes that a Zarmanochegus (Śarmaṇachárya) went on an embassy to the Emperor Augustus Caesar, but immolated himself at Athens on a funeral pyre.

² Plutarch, Arrian, Justin, Quintus Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and others are authorities on Indian matters.

³ There is a hint in the drama of the Mudrá Rákshas which leads us to suppose that

where it is stated that a lion licked his sweat and a wild elephant bowed down his head before him. This is exaggeration, but his heroism is proved indisputably in other ways. In the Purāns Bimbasār is said to be a great-grandson of Kākavarṇa son of Śiśunāg ; Nandivardhan, great-grandson of Ajātaśatru son of Bimbasār ; Mahānand son of Nandivardhan ; and Mahāpadmanand son of Mahānand by a Śúdrā wife. After Mahāpadmanand and his eight sons called Navanand Chandragupt Maurya is said to have ascended the throne. But these Purāns cannot be relied on. The Bhavishya Purān foretells that Śunak will put Ripunjay to death and give his crown to his son Pradyot. Now in Vāyu Purān Pradyot's great-grandson is named Ajak, in Matsya Purān Sūryag and in Bhāgavat, Rajak, and Nandivardhan is spoken of as his son. Again in Vāyu Purān Bimbasār is written as Bimbisār, in Matsya Vindusen and in Bhāgavat Bidhusār ; and his father's name Kshatraujas in Vāyu, Kshemajit in Matsya, and Kshetragna in Bhāgavat. The Búddhists assert that Chāpakya, a Brāhman of Taxila (Taksha Śilā), murdered Dhananand and raised to the throne Chandra Gupt, son of the king of Moriyānagar and of the same race to which Śākya Muni Gautam Buddha belonged. Be it as it may, it is fully established by the drama called Mudrá Rākshas that Chandra Gupt succeeded Nand and was called Lord paramount of Hindustān. Seleucus fought only one battle with him and receiving 500 elephants gave him his daughter and the country on the left bank of the Indus in return, and thus concluding peace with him went back to Babylon. Megasthenes who was his ambassador at the court of Chandra Gupt describes Pataliputra or Paṭṇā to have been eight miles long and a mile and a half broad, defended by a wooden rampart with 570 towers, 64 gates and a ditch 30 cubits deep. The Vedic age appears to have passed away. The sacred ritual and the burnt offerings were neglected. The ambassador records that Śiv was worshipped in the hills and Viṣṇu in the plains. The priests painted their bodies,¹ adorned their heads with garlands of flowers and played upon bells and cymbals before their gods. The different castes were not allowed to intermarry, nor was it permitted for men of one caste to exercise the employment

the Greeks were in India at the time of Chandragupt. The *śloka* which contains the allusion to these people is as follows :—"The Magadh corps with a compact body of its officers shall lead the van after me ; the Gandhār troops and the Yavan (Greek) chieftains shall occupy the centre, while the valiant princes of the Sak line with their flanks covered by the Hūns shall bring up the rear ; the prince royal shall be escorted by the loyal nobility headed by Kaulūt."

प्रस्थातव्यं पुरस्तात् खस मगधगोर्मामनुव्यूढ सैन्यैर्गान्धारैर्मध्ययाने स यवनपतिभिः संविधेयः
 प्रसक्तः । पश्चादनुव्यूढैः शकनरपतयः संवृताश्चेदिद्व्यूढैः कौलूताद्यश्च शिष्टः पथिपरिव्यूहया
 राजलोकः कुमारम्" Chandra Gupt is said to be a Vrishal or the son of a Śúdrā woman in the drama.

¹ The allusion is perhaps to sandal paste with which the Brāhmins besmear their body.

of another. The Hindús wore robes reaching to the knee and covered their heads and shoulders with sheets of cotton cloth. They wore ornamented slippers of brilliant colours, adorned themselves with gold and jewels and dyed their eyebrows, beards and mustaches with *minhdí* (*lawsonia inermis*). Only the great had umbrellas carried over them, chariots were drawn in war by horses, but on a march by oxen. Elephants were adorned with caparisons embroidered with gold and silver. The roads were often repaired and the police is spoken of as excellent. In the camp of Sandrocottos the sums stolen daily did not amount to more than Rs. 50. The land revenue amounted to one-fourth of the produce. A Roman author Quintus Curtius writes that the luxury and magnificence of the Hindú kings was unequalled probably among all the kings in the world. He states that they moved in gilded palanquins set off with fringes of pearls, wore garments of brocade and rich embroidery, and sat in state under splendid canopies supported by gilt pillars ornamented with golden vines and silver birds. While at toilet they held levees, received ambassadors and decided cases. The women arranged the dishes and had charge of the liquors. He represents the Hindús as greatly addicted to drinking. Numbers of female slaves borne in gilded palanquins accompanied a king in his excursions, and took him to bed when he was inebriated.¹

Chandragupt died in 291 B. C. The Greek ambassador Diomachos came to the court of his son Vindusár, who is called Bhadrasár in the Váyu Purán and Várisár in the Bhágavat and perhaps Brihadrath in the Matsya Purán. The Vishnu Purán alone agrees with the Buddhist Scriptures in calling him Vindusár. He had sixteen wives and one hundred and one children of whom Ások,² afterwards called Dharm Ások, a very able and active prince, was governor of Ujjain where he married Deví the daughter of a rich banker. He had by her a son named Mahendra and a daughter Sanghamittá or Sumitrá.

ÁSOK.

On succeeding his father in 263 B. C, Ások, grandson of Chandragupt, caused all Vindusár's sons to be massacred with the exception of his own brother Tissa or Tishya. His installation took place in 259 B. C. He fed sixty, some say eight, thousand Bráhmans daily. One day he was enjoying from his balcony the sight of one of these feasts which were pretty much the same as they are now. Fat bráhmans were gluttonously

¹ This shows that the voluptuousness of Vájid Ali Sháh of Lakhnau had begun to manifest itself even then.

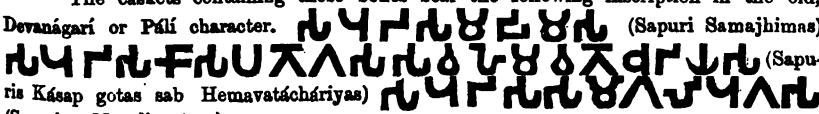
² The Jain scriptures call Ások also Ásokaári.

helping themselves to sweetmeats and curds, jostling each other, laughing, joking and carousing, so much that there was quite an uproar. Presently his eye fell on the road and he saw a Bauddh beggar almsdish in hand, with downward eyes and in a meek and resigned mood of self-denial going his way like a Jain ascetic of our own days. Ásók immediately called him. He came in, and took his seat on the throne. Ásók was gratified with his instructions by which he was estranged from the Brahmanical and inclined to the Buddhist religion. He embraced Buddhism, and it became the established creed. Bauddh mendicants took the place of Brahmanical suppliants for alms. Some controversy now arose in the Vihár of Paṭṇá and consequently the Arhat Tishya Mogaliputra (Maudgalaputra), the abbot of that monastery went away to the hills beyond the Gangá. The fraternity therefore could not hold *Upasath* (Uposhadh).¹ Ásók not knowing the reason, sent orders to celebrate the ceremony, but the new chief did not comply and the messenger cutting off his head brought it to the king.² Ásók was struck with horror at the sight. He sent for Mogaliputra by water with great reverence and caused him to disembark in his garden. Mogaliputra caused 6,000 Bráhmans called *Tírtthiyás* who had fomented quarrels in the Vihár to be expelled. He held the third synod of 1,000 Arhats or Superiors in which articles of faith and precepts were again revised. Provision was made for the maintenance of Bauddh Śrámans and Bhikshuks or beggars. Ásók made a pilgrimage to the sacred places in company with Mogaliputra and had a memorial tope erected under the tree where Buddha had attained to perfection and also where his *Nirvāṇ*, or death had taken place. Monuments were also erected in memory of Śáriputra and Mogalán (Maudgaláyan) at Sānchí near Bhilsá. His son Madendra and daughter Sanghamittá bid farewell to all domestic ties and became anchorites. His son-in-law Agnibrahma and nephew Nyagrodh had already done the like. Mahendra attained the rank of a Sthavir (Elder) and Nyagrodh that of an Arhat (Superior). Elders and Superiors were sent out to every side as missionaries to propagate the faith. Accordingly Mahendra went towards Lanká, Majjhim (Madhyam) and Kássap (Káśyap) towards the Himálayas. The bones of the two latter as well as of Mogaliputra have been discovered in the tope of Sānchí. Their names are inscribed on the stones.³ All these were apostles of the Buddhist religion. Ma-

¹ The Jain words Paushadh and Posá are derived from this word.

² An admirable specimen of the justice and administration of those days!

³ The caskets containing those bones bear the following inscription in the old, Devanágari or Páli character.


 (Sapuri Samajhimas)
 (Sapuri Kásap gotas sab Hemavatácháriyas)

(Sapurisas Mogali putasa).

hendra who, had been deputed to Lanká spread the Bauddh religion there, Tishya surnamed *Devánámpriya* (beloved of the gods) being then king of that island. Áśok reigned as lord paramount of India. He caused his edicts¹ to be engraved on rocks and monoliths at remote points of

¹ This inscription consists of fourteen edicts or articles of faith, which do not appear to have been engraved in all places at one and the same time. Some include less and others more, and as by degrees Áśok's belief in Buddhism waxed stronger, new articles were added and the old ones modified and elucidated. The following is the first article of which we transcribe the first two lines as we find them engraved on the columns in the old Pálí character and in order to render them illegible, we write the Devanágari characters beneath them.

इ यं ध म लि पि	दे वा नं पि ये न	पि य द सि ना रा अ
I yam dha ma li pi	De vá nam Pi ye na	Pi ya da si ná rá já
ले खा पि ता	इ ध न कं चि जी वं	आ र भि ता पू जा हि ता य
le khá pi tá	I dha na kam chi jí vam á	ra bhi tá pú já hi tá ya
न च स मा ज क त व्ये		
na cha sa má ja ka ta bye		

The substance of these articles is given below :—

1ST ARTICLE.

The king Priyadarśi beloved of the Gods, orders that henceforward the slaughtering of animals be discontinued and that neither for sacrifice nor for feast should they be slain, as this is a great evil. Millions have been daily sacrificed and the royal kitchen gives good feasts for meritorious objects; animals are allowed to be slain and are slain, but, as the question whether this practice is a right one and shall continue has not been finally settled, the public shall abstain from bloodshed.

2ND ARTICLE.

Be it known throughout the regions conquered by the king Priyadarśi, i.e. to the farthest ends of Chol, Pír, Keralaputra, Tāmraparni (Lanká), to his ally the Greek King Antiochus (Antiochus II who died in 247 B. C.) and to other princes friendly to him that he earnestly wishes that large shady trees be planted in rows along the public road, that wells be dug at proper intervals, and that fruit-yielding trees, vegetables and eatable roots be also planted.

3RD ARTICLE.

All the members of this religious community, whether they be subject to mine or to foreign rule, shall perform expiatory rites every fifth year, when the duty they owe to father, mother, wife, son and friend or to a Bráhmaṇ and Śrámaṇ shall be duly discharged. Charity and abstinence from bloodshed are virtues, prodigality and backbiting are vices.

4TH ARTICLE.

Destruction of animal life has been carried on for hundreds of years, Bráhmaṇs, Śrámaṇs, and kinsmen are deprived of the reverence which is their due; the king, therefore, (enjoins strict observance of religion and in order to make his ordinance widespread and public, proclaims it by beat of drum, blaze of fireworks, and public processions of musicians and dancers accompanied with chariots and elephants.

5TH ARTICLE.

It is difficult to observe religion properly; the king therefore appoints Dharmamátrīs (guardians of religion) who will look to its being observed in Kamboj, Gandhár, Nirastik (Gujrát), Pitenik and other countries wherever ungodly hypocrites are found.

his empire and in all the chief cities. The former are extant at Kapur-digiri near Peshávar, at Dhavalí near Katak (Cuttack) and at Júnágarh near Gírnár; traces have been found of some at Birát or Bhábhara between Dillí (Delhi) and Jaypur, at Kálsí near Dehrá Dún (Doon) and also in Ganjám. The latter are standing at Dillí, Prayág and Bakrá, and in Tirhut near Radhiá and Mathiá even to the present day.

6TH ARTICLE.

It has been impossible to do this till now, but henceforward I will, that every complaint preferred by my subjects reach my ears, even though I be riding or in the seraglio. I have hence appointed Prativádaks (Reporters) who will bring up the complaints and petitions of the public to me, and whatever I or the Mahámátris have to say shall be disposed of in the Council.

7TH ARTICLE.

No votary of any religion (be it what it may) shall be persecuted on account of his belief, as all are trying to improve the moral conduct.

8TH ARTICLE.

The amusements and diversions of former kings consisted in gambling and the chase. But I take pleasure in courting the company of Bráhmans, Śrámans and Sádhus, Saints, Mahants and such other pious men, in giving alms and in walking and inducing others to walk in the path of religion.

9TH ARTICLE.

Rejoicings are generally made and feasts given at the birth of a son, at marriages, pilgrimages, the entertaining of a friend or when a calamity is averted; but all this is in vain. The real merit consists in cheerfully practising religion, faithfully serving the master and the preceptor and in giving alms to Bráhmans and Śrámans.

10TH ARTICLE.

Fame and reputation are mere phantoms, and should not be pursued. The only fame I long for, is, that people may know I wish them to be righteous.

11TH ARTICLE.

Disinterested charity is an incomparable virtue. It consists in supporting servants and dependants, dutifulness to parents and bestowing largesses on needy friends, relations, Bráhmans and Śrámans. To save life is highly meritorious.

12TH ARTICLE.

(This is to be found in Gírnár alone.)

Priyadarśi respects all creeds and persuasions, and their votaries whether they live in the world or in seclusion. People should venerate their own faith without scoffing at the convictions of others. The 13th Article contains the names of Antiochus II, Ptolemy II, king of Egypt who died 246 B. C., Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedon who died in 243 B. C. and other princes.

The 14th is the concluding article.

The summary of these articles in brief is; (1) preservation of animal life; (2) extension of cultivation; (3) quinquennial expiation; (4) establishment and public proclamation of religion; (5) ordination of the guardians of religion; (6) appointment of reporters and the facilitation of the administration of justice; (7) religious tolerance; (8) the giving up of recreating amusements and the chase; (9) renunciation of rejoicings except for religion; (10) the leading of the people in the paths of righteousness; (11) disinterested charity; (12) promotion of social feeling.

A similar inscription differing in one or two particulars of small moment is to be found at Dhavalí near Katak. The Monoliths at Dillí, Prayág, Bakrá, Mathiá, and Radhiá have each four articles engraved one on each side, as follows: (1) the people should be governed with morality i. e. mercy, charity, truth and purity; (2) Rájaks have been appointed in order to ensure public convenience and comfort. A person who has been sentenced to

Aśok died in 222 B. C. at the age of 82 after a reign of forty-one years. One of his favourite queens Tishya-Rakshitā had fallen in love with one of his sons named Kunāl also called Dharmavardhan who did not return her affection. Consequently when Kunāl marched to suppress an insurrection in Taxilā, she caused the royal seal to be fixed artfully to a forged mandate ordering the army to put out Kunāl's eyes. As soon as he appeared sightless before the king, the queen was ordered to be burnt alive. Kunāl afterward recovered sight and went away to Taxilā. Aśok's grandson Sampadi—Samprati Mahārāj of the Jains—reigned at Paṭṇā and was a Buddhist like Kunāl. Another of his grandsons Jalok king of Kāśmīr (Cashmere) was a worshipper of Śiv. He defeated the Greek king Euthydemus of Bactria, whose relative Antiochus the Great admitted Jalok to the same terms which he had made with Aśok. Till then the Buddhist monasteries remained free from corruption. The monks read the Buddhist scriptures and walked the path of virtue. In the reign of Aśok the inmates of the Vihāras (monasteries) abstained from the enjoyment of rich seats, using umbrellas, perfumes, garlick, *Tārti* (Toddy), intoxicating drugs, music and other sensuous enjoyments. After midday they wholly abstained from food. Such a pure life edified the minds of the people. They enriched them with money, endowed their monasteries with land, and supplied the monks with food. Epicurism as inevitably crept in, and with it hypocrisy and laxity of morals.

VIKRAM.

In the meantime Vikram ascended the throne of Ujjain in 57 B. C. He was a votary of Śiv. He conquered Dillī, extended his dominion

death should fast for three days, in order to prepare himself for the world to come. The 3rd contains the names of animals the slaughter of which is prohibited and enjoins that no animal be killed during the last three days of rainy season. It concludes with an edict decreeing the release of 25 prisoners in the 27th year after the coronation. The 4th is illegible. The Monolith at Dillī states further more that Priyadarśi caused wells to be dug at proper distances along the public roads and banyan-trees to be planted for shade and mango-trees for fruit. The rock at Beirāt six miles from Bhabharā on the Dillī and Jaipur road bears an inscription which is perhaps the last religious edict issued by Aśok who appears by this time to have grown a thoroughgoing Buddhist. Its substance is "I king Priyadarśi enjoin on the Magadh-Sangh (institution) not to persecute animals as it is well known to them how deeply do I revere the Buddha, the religion and the Sangh. Whatever Buddha says is good. His religion will exist for ever. Therefore having removed all oppression and having refuted all the false religions, the disgrace of the earth, the aphorisms of Munis, the Sāmas (hymns) and the evil deeds of base mendicants, do I hereby proclaim the precepts of this religion and publicly profess it exhorting my subjects to embrace its tenets. The rocks at Kapurdigiri and Girnār contain the names of five Greek Kings friendly to Aśok. Only four names which could be read are given below. Three of these have already been mentioned in the 13th Article; Antiochus II (Thios of Syria B. C. 262—247); Ptolemy II (Philadelphus of Egypt B. C. 285—246); Antigonus (Gonatus of Macedon B. C. 276—243); Magas (of Cyrene B. C. 258).

as far as Káśmír and gave a heavy shock to the religion of the Buddhists. The Bráhmans began to re-assert their strength. He was a distinguished patron of letters and poetry ; his court shone with the nine geniuses of the time called nine gems, the greatest of whom was Kálidás the writer of the poems Raghuvansá, Kumár Sambhav, Ritu-sanhá, and of the dramas Śákuntalá, Vikramorvasí, and Málavikágnimitra. The drama Mrichchhakatiká also appears to have been composed about the beginning of the Christian era and supplies much information relating to those times. It contains a remarkable description of the mansion of an Indian Lais named Vasant ; the frames of the doors and windows were painted with brilliant colours and adorned with wreaths of flowers. The balconies were high and spacious ; yellow banners floated on the air and earthen pots with mango plants were placed around. The outside of the house was cleansed and sprinkled with water. The building consisted of eight court-yards—In the first were porters nodding like Bráhmans reading the veds ; the crows were indifferent to the remnants of the sacrifices, having had enough of rice and curd there already. In the second were stables occupied by horses, and bullocks for the chariots ; there were also fighting rams and monkeys ; and the elephants were fed with balls of rice and ghí. In the third young men were gambling. Musical entertainments and dramatic performances were held in the fourth. The fifth was a kitchen and the exhalations of asafoetida, oil and confections scented the air. The skins of the animals slaughtered were being dressed. The sixth court contained a splendid arch ; jewellers and goldsmiths were engaged in making beautiful ornaments and cutting or polishing precious stones ; the fragrance of saffron and musk, of sandal wood or other perfumes in preparation, impregnated the air and charmed the sense. The seventh was an aviary resonant with the notes of doves, parrots, jays, cuckoos and other birds. The last courtyard was occupied by the brother of Vasant who glittered in jewels and silk lolling about as if his joints were loose. His mother was dressed in flowered muslin, and wore shoes upon her feet rubbed with oil. So stout was she that the spectator was fain to imagine that the walls were built after she had entered the court. Vasant was walking about in the garden. Her carriage was screened with curtains. A Bráhman named Chárudatt was her paramour. Theft was in those days considered an art. Accordingly a Bráhman thief is represented as measuring the fencing wall with his sacred thread and cutting a hole in the shape of a cross or a jar in accordance with the Śástras, studying how to break through and steal *secundum artem*. The Rájá runs after the fair but frail Vasant in the bázár and hurts her. She is saved by a Bauddh mendicant. A cowherd named Áryak whose eyes are described as being copper coloured, murders the king and seats himself upon the throne of

Ujjain. Whether this is a fact or not, it is beyond all doubt that a horde of Tartar tribes, Śaks,¹ Húns and Jaṭs² invaded the country in his time. Vikram arrested their progress, whence he is called Śakári or enemy of the Śaks.³ But they nevertheless appear to have settled previous to B. C. 26 in the basin of the Indus, Málavá and other neighbouring countries.

They were fire-worshippers, as their coins contain the image of Ardethro or the god of fire emitting flames from his shoulders. The later coins however bear on the obverse the image of Śiv trident in hand leaning against Nandí (his bull), but with only two eyes and fire burning on his head. The devices on the reverse are images of Helios (the sun) Mao (the moon) and the goddess Nanaia, called also Bábí Nání by the Afghans. Yájñavalkya calls these in his code by the name of Nának.⁴ The coin of king Kanarkí has the representation of Buddha on it, but with flames of fire. He is the same king who is called Kanishk⁵ both by the Bráhmans and the Buddhists. We find in Rájataranginí that three kings of Turushk (Turk) tribe reigned in Kaśmír and the Singhalese historians call them Hushk, Jushk, and Kanishk respectively. They built cities, Vihárs, monuments and colleges and contributed greatly to

¹ These Sak people worshipped snakes which was their heraldic sign and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that they were the progenitors of the Nágvanśís as the Rámgarh and Sirgujá chiefs of this race have still snakes engraved on their seals. Herodotus the ancient Greek historian writes that these Sak people affirmed their descent from a woman whose lower parts were those of a viper. Perhaps this myth gave rise to the conception of a Nág-Kanyá (Serpent damsel) among our countrymen.

² Jits, Getes, Getæ, Gætí, formed a tribe in Tartar even at the time of Taimúr.

³ There have been so many (more than eight) monarchs of the name of Vikram, that their history has become hopelessly confused, and many European historians have been led to doubt the fixing of the Samvat by Vikram since no trustworthy evidence is to be found of the existence of any great king of that name in Ujjain at the period at which this era is said to have been established. But one celebrated Vikram appears to have ruled supreme between the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era. His general Mátrigupt conquered Kaśmír and took king Tormán captive, but on Vikram's death and his general Mátrigupt's retirement to Kási, Pravarasen son of the captive king made in turn Vikram's son Śíláditya prisoner and carried off the fabled throne adorned with 32 beautiful female figures, in the same way as Nádír Sháh took away the renowned peacock throne of Dillí. A certain historian conjectures that the Samvat was inaugurated by the founder of the Gupt dynasty. It fell into disuse in the interval but was revived by a Gupt king surnamed Vikram who for ought we know may be identical with Chundragupt Vikram II. The period at which Varáhamihir lived is exactly ascertained to have been 587 A. D. This learned man was a contemporary of the last named monarch who reigned between the 5th and 6th century. Amarasingh the writer of the celebrated Sanskrit onomasticon and the renowned poet Kálidás were with Varahamihir amongst the gems of Vikram's court. One scholar supposes that Mátrigupt was only another name of Kálidás.

⁴ This argument leads us to suppose that this book was written after the reign of Vikram.

⁵ The tope (stúp) at Manikyálá near Peshávar was erected by the same Kanishk. Roman coins current in 33 B. C. have been discovered under it.

the ascendancy of the Bauddh religion. A Tántrik monk Nágárjuna called also Nágsen born in Vidarbh (Bidar) was their spiritual director and his disciples were named Mádhyamiks. He held the fourth congregation of the Buddhists in Kaśmír and spread this religion from Tartary to Java. The Chinese considered these kings so powerful that they sent their princes as hostages. In the cold season they resided in Hindustán, in spring in Kandhár and in hot season in the hills north of Kábul. In short the kings of the Turushk tribe united the worship of fire and Śiv with that of Buddha and thus tried to form an eclectic and comprehensive religion.

FA-HIAN AND HWEN-THSANG.

We now give a brief summary of the accounts of Magadh left us by Fa-hian a Chinese Buddhist who made a pilgrimage to India in the year 399 of the Christian era. According to his narrative the religion of Buddha was in the height of prosperity. Kings and nobles had alienated houses, gardens and cattle for the benefit of the monasteries. The deeds of gift were inscribed on iron plates.¹ The Buddhist monks enjoyed ease and leisure for the study of their sacred institutes. The Colleges and Universities were so important that Śramans resorted to them from every part of the world. There were also large hospitals and dispensaries in which the poor and sick were fed and tended. Drinking spirituous liquors was prohibited, and there were no shops in the city for their sale. Onions, garlic, pigs and poultry were not eaten. Great respect was shown for animal life, and meat was sold only by the Chandáls (the lowest caste) who live in purlieus apart from the inhabited quarters. When these entered the frequented thoroughfares, they made a noise by striking pieces of wood in order that the people might make room for them to pass, and might avoid their defiling contact. The king makes obeisance to Śramans having first doffed his crown, presents food to them with his own hands, and quits his throne in their presence to sit together with them on a carpet. Capital punishment is illegal. Fines are generally resorted to, but for exceptionally grave offences the right arm is amputated. Shells form part of the currency. Cities and towns are generally large; and the people wealthy, kind hearted and lovers of justice. They carve excellent statues and draw pictures of great beauty. Fa-Hian appears to have witnessed the Rathayátrá (procession of the car) a festival celebrated at Paṭná on the birthday of Śákya, and gives a vivid description of it. He states that a sort of fortress is made of spears on a four-wheeled car, and pictures of the gods hung around it. At the four

¹ These deeds of gift must have been engraved certainly on copper plates which Fa-Hian mistook for iron ones.

corners four statues of Buddha are seated surrounded by Bodhisattvas. The ceremony gives rise to a large fair immensely crowded and enlivened by fencing-matches, dramatic performances and representations of the exploits of ancient heroes. Fragrant flowers and perfumes impregnate the air, and the ceremony is concluded by illuminations at night.

Hwen-Thsang made his pilgrimage 232 years after Fa-Hian and remained in Hindustán till the year 640 A. D. He writes that in Samarkand fire is worshipped and burnt offerings are made to it. There were one hundred monasteries within the city of Balkh and as many within that of Kábul. Śrávastí was at that time ruined and deserted and Kapilavastu the birthplace of Buddha consisted only of ten hamlets. Paṭnā was also languishing. The Bráhmans held supreme power in Prayág. He highly praises the edifices of Naland near Rájagrah and adds that Bauddh Śramans of all the eighteen branches assembled in "Sangháráms" (monasteries) to read. In the course of his travel he saw above fifty topes built by Aśok; and several of his Vihárs were then in existence. The total number of kings of Hindustán including Kábul and Ghazní at that time as given by him is eighty. But there is no doubt that many of them were merely tributary princes. From Jalandhar and Thánesar to Gangá Ságar and from Himálaya to the Narmadá and Mahánadí the country was under the Buddhist king Harshavardhan of Kanauj. He invaded the dominions of the kings of Kaśmír and Ganjám, but was defeated by the Kshatriy king of Maháráshṭra. The city of Kanauj was then sixteen miles long. Balabhi and Magadh were ruled by Buddhist kings, but Kaśhmír and Ujjain were in possession of the worshippers of Śiv. An ambassador of the emperor of China appears to have been sent in those days to the court of Magadh.

GUPT DYNASTY.

On the death of the Buddhist king Meghaváhan in 144 A. D., Buddhism began to wane and the religion of the Bráhmans to wax. At the time Fa-Hian came Chandragupt (II) Vikram¹ of the Gupt dynasty was lord paramount of the whole of Bháratavarsh and he was probably the last Bauddh sovereign possessed of an undisputed authority over the whole empire. His father Samudragupt Parákram's name is engraved on the columns of Saidpur-Bhitri and Allahabad, and the Gupt era dates from Gupt the grandfather of his grandfather Chandra I. A monument erected by Skandagupt

¹ Elsewhere I have stated that this Samvat was resuscitated by a Gupt king who, I suppose, is no other than this Chandra Gupt surnamed Vikram or Vikramá.

grandson of Chandragupt (11) Vikram still exists in the village of Kuhāṇ near Salimpur Majhaur in Zila' Gorakhpur. It is inscribed upon that column that one hundred kings bowed down before him. His father Kumāragupt Mahendra wore loose trowsers and a buttoned coat as appears from the image on his coin. We generally find the images of Śiv, Párbatī, a bull, a peacock or a lion¹ inscribed on the Gupt coins. Samudragupt and Skandagupt were undoubtedly both Vedists and worshippers of Śiv. The Gupt dynasty was expelled in 319 A. D. from Gujrāt by the Sen kings who established a new era after the name of their capital Balabhī² and who appear to have been great and renowned. The Bauddh religion was prevalent in Hindustán at the time Hwen-Tsang visited India, in other words till the year 600 A. D. Since then it declined gradually so that in the twelfth or the thirteenth century it was entirely extirpated from Bháratavarsh. Hwen-Tsang relates that there were one hundred temples and ten thousand worshippers of Śiv, while there were only thirty Viháras and five thousand Buddhists at Banáras. The drama Málátī Mádhav written by Bhavabhūti of Kanauj about 720 A. D. represents Mádhav son of a king of Bihár and Málátī daughter of the minister to the king of Ujjain as reading Nyáy with a Buddhist abbess there; but on the other hand the Ráṭhaur family of Kanauj, Tomar of Dillí and Chandel of Mahobá all worshiped either Vishṇu or Śiv. The aim of Buddha was to impart to all that spiritual knowledge (*gnán*) which being beyond the sphere of ordinary reasoning power is attainable only by intuition and deep and patient meditation. But it is impossible that the generality of mankind can acquire it. Their intellects are lost in abstract ideas and are well satisfied to remain im-

ditya whose son Kumár Gupt Mahendra must have borne the title of Śiláditya. There is no trace of any era, purporting to have been established by Vikram, before this period. Abú Raihán writes: "The era alluded to was founded by the Gupt race which was very strong and wicked, and the world felt great relief when it became extinct, with it the Gupt era also died and the Balabhí era commenced which is later by 241 years than the Śak era." (قاما

كوبت كال فكان كما قبل قوماً الشر ارا اقربا فلما انقرضوا ارج بهم و كان بلب كال اخير هم اول تاريخهم
يضاً متاخرين عن شك كال ٢٢١)

According to Col. Tod a stone discovered at Soumáth had three different eras engraved on it, viz. Samvat 1320, Balabhí 945, and Hijri 662, which are identical with each other in point of time. Thus we are led to believe that on expulsion of Gupt dynasty from Gujrāt in the year 319 A. D. or 375 of the Gupt era, the latter became defunct and a new era by name Balabhí was started; that is to say, the difference between the Gupt and the Balabhí eras consists of 375 years, and as the inscription contains 1320 of the Vikram's and 945 of the Balabhí era, these two figures represent the exact difference just mentioned. This seems to me to be a conclusive proof that Vikram only revived the Gupt era which now goes by the name of Vikram Samvat and did not establish any new one of his own.

¹ The bull belongs as a vehicle to Śiv; the peacock to his son Kártikey and the lion to his wife Párbatī.

² It is said that the Balabhí dynasty was founded by Kanak Sen, a descendant of the lunar race, who came from Oudh (Avadh) sometime before 200 A. D.

mersed in the concrete. Hence the worship of idols and images. Gradually the relics of saints, ashes, bones, teeth and the like, monuments, trees and animals, came to be the objects of adoration.

SVAMI ŚANKAR AND OTHER ACHARYAS.

Svāmī Śankarachārya is regarded by the Brāhmins as being the immediate incarnation of Mahādev himself. The exact time when he flourished is not known, but it is probable that he was contemporary with Muhammad the prophet of the Musalmāns. He achieved an universal triumph over and completely vanquished his opponents the professors of other religions at the courts of various kings, who embraced his religion. According to the saying "As the king is so will his subjects be," the Buddhists were either expelled from Hindustān or made proselytes. Their temples, monuments and monasteries were demolished and their sites dedicated to the worship of Śiv. The Brāhmins were restored to their former religious precedence from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin. But Śankarachārya knew very well that Buddhism having held supremacy so long, it would be difficult to win back the popular belief to the Vedic rites and institutions.¹ He therefore wrote commentaries and new books with the view of meeting public opinion and reconciling the Buddhist feelings to the Vedic faith. His disciples bore witness that whatever was said in the old books referred merely to Satyayug and that a new religion was ordained for the Kaliyug. New books were written under the name of Purāns embodying some of them old and others, new doctrines. But Śankarachārya died amidst this restoration at the age of thirtytwo leaving it but half finished and after him in 1185 Rāmānuj² preached that the vedāntic religion inculcated by Śankarachārya was too spiritual and difficult and the time of worshipping Mahādev the lord of ghosts and demons and of the hideous Kālī had passed away, and the people had better adore Rām and Sītā to obtain emancipation. His new sect rapidly gained ground and the people exchanged the *tripundā* (three marks made across the forehead) for the *tilak* (emblem of the worshippers of Vishṇu). Subsequently Ballabhachārya was born in 1535 A. D. He exhibited the amorous feats of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā in such fascinating colours, that the people at once embraced his doctrines; women became particularly devoted to him and his ascendancy thus became complete. Meanwhile the professors of the Jain re-

¹ Meat offerings of horses, men, cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats were now substituted for the burnt offerings of ghee, rice, milk, and animals modelled in kneaded flour.

² Rāmānuj was born at Perumbur northwest of Madras (Madrās) after studying at Kāñchīpur took up his residence at Śrīrangapattan.

ligion ' seeing' that there was left no trace of the religion of Aśok and Samprati and of the books of their times, embraced the opportunity of widening the sphere of their sect and converted Kumārapāl¹ of Gujrat and one or two other kings.² In these ages indeed we see the jungle of religious metaphysics growing with rank luxuriance. Bhīls, Bhars, Cheros, and other barbarous tribes were making perpetual inroads. But there having been no formidable invasion from outside from the time of Alexander to that of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, the wealth of the country always so notable went on rapidly increasing. Population also increased, and in 993 A. D. Bhoj³ king of Dhārānagar or Dhār gave immense stimulus to Sanskrit literature the glory of which reached its culminating point in his reign. It is said that he gave no less than a hundred thousand rupees for a single couplet. He wished that none should remain ignorant throughout his dominions. One day on a hunting excursion being separated from his party, he came near a river and saw a Brāhman crossing it with a bundle of fagots on his head. Bhoj supposing him ignorant of Sanskrit, jestingly asked in Sanskrit "How deep is the water?" (नद्यां कियज्जलं विप्र). The Brāhman immediately replied in a correct idiom, It is knee-deep, Lord of men. (जानुदमं नराधिप). The answer pleased him so highly that he wrote an order that three hundred thousand rupees and ten elephants should be given to the Brāhman. Bhoj was not a great king, but he patronized letters and thus while many great monarchs are consigned to oblivion, the name of Bhoj is ever on the lips of men. It is true that "Fame secured by letters becomes lasting on this earth." (कीर्तिरक्षरसम्बद्धास्थिराभवतिभूतले).

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

From the accounts left by Muhammad Bin Kāsim who visited Bala-bhī and Anahavārā⁴ (Siddhapur Pātan) with his companions in 714

¹ The Jains state that Jinachandra Sūri their chief spiritual leader, 18th in number from Sudharmā (Ganadhar of Mahāvīr), lived in 139 of Vikram's Samvat.

² The Jain Rājā Kumār Pāl was installed king at Anahavārā or Siddhapurpātan in Samvat 1189, and was a disciple of Hemachārya author of the Hemakoś, a Sanskrit onomastion.

³ The Jain religion, in the present form, made its appearance about 600 years after the Samvat, reached its meridian in 1100 and began to decline in 1200. Col. Tod passes a high encomium on the beauty and architecture of the famous Jain temples on Mount Ábú, erected by the Śrīmāl brothers Tejpal and Basantpal of Chandrávatī and Bimal Sāh banker of Anahavārā in Samvat 1234. Col. Tod says "This is the most superb of all the temples of India, and there is not an edifice beside the Táj Mahal that can approach to it. The pen is incompetent to describe the exuberant beauties of this proud monument of the Jains."

⁴ There have been two more kings of the name of Bhoj, the one in 567 and the other in 665 A. D.

⁵ The circumference of Anahavārā was 12 kos (24 miles). It had 84 squares and as many markets.

and by the followers of Mahmúd of Ghazní of his expedition to Somnáth, Mathurá and Kanauj about the year 1024, we infer that this country was in no way inferior to the other prematurely civilized countries of the world.¹ But alas! the Muhammadans kept it down in rudeness, while Europe and America have made gigantic strides in material progress, through the exertions of their enterprising sons. Persia, Tartary, Turkey and Afghanistan and in short whichever country bore the impress of their steps shared the fate of India.² Under their sway no country ever rose in the scale of civilization. While the people of Europe and America have extended the mechanical arts, multiplied the comforts of life, and embellished life with the fine arts, recognising at the same time that all excellence rests on individual freedom and energetic competition, the Muhammadans have looked upon painting and music as irreligious and regarded inquiry into things not mentioned in their sacred books a kind of sacrilege. To possess beautiful slaves was to them the highest earthly happiness. We have said elsewhere that historians have left us hundreds of works relating to the Muhammadan period from which we can learn many useful things. But it ought never to be supposed that these sketches possess all the elements of history. Very many writers have summarised the works of their predecessors with the result of rendering them worthless. Consequently for the most part what there is in the one is also found in the other. Many who have chronicled the events of the reign of a king or of his ancestors were actuated by motives of either ambition or fear. They have concealed blemishes and exaggerated good qualities to such an extent that it is impossible to believe even what may be fact.³ Perhaps these writers were under the impression that their books were for the amusement of those kings only,

¹ Idrisi who was born towards the end of the 11th century relates that Anahavárá was governed by a Buddhist king, who wore a gold crown (*kirtí*) and was very fond of riding. The natives of Hindustán, he adds, are very honest. If a creditor draws a circle round his debtor he will not come out of it until he has paid off the debt, or received his creditor's permission. No animal is slaughtered for meat, and cows and bullocks are fed even when old and unservicable. Istakhri writes in 951 that the people of Multán wear trowsers. This leads us to suppose that the *dhottí* (waist cloth) was commonly worn in other places. Abú Zaid who flourished in 916 informs us that the queens and other women of the royal seraglio did not live in seclusion as is the custom now, nor did they veil their faces. Indeed the *pardá* (the keeping of women in seclusion) has only prevailed since the time the Musalmáns came into this country; and it was for fear of their women being ravished, that the Hindús followed the example of their conquerors in confining their women within walls.

² A European historian gives an account of their devastations in Spain in the following words:—"The soldiery plundered the towns, devastated the country and profaned the churches. A native historian has remarked that the miseries of the vanquished are the happiness of the victors."

³ See how highly Firdausí has panegyrised Mahmúd of Ghazní in the *Sháh Náma*, and when he received a smaller recompense than he had expected, how severely he satirized his royal master.

may, that the whole world had been created for their exclusive pleasure and enjoyment. So the king doubtless was, for his subjects were the Hindús who were not regarded as men, but as born only to be plundered, slaughtered or enslaved. Even so good natured a writer as Amír Khusrau alludes to the Hindús in such contemptuous terms as "raven-faced," "raven like in nature" and so forth. But poor Amír Khusrau is not to blame ; to please their rulers even the Hindú historians of that time did not spare to brand their brethren with similar epithets, or to employ the word *káfir* which had become quite synonymous with Hindú.¹ Hence to massacre them, to enslave their wives and daughters, to plunder their property, to demolish their temples, to deface the images, to force beef down their throats and to make them Musalmáns by violence are subjects which fill those so called histories equally with the bestowal of robes of honour, titles and territories, receiving presents, subduing countries and storming forts, drinking wine, singing, dancing, hunting, manœuvring chargers and elephants, and all sorts of praises of the king. Amidst so many acts of oppression, tyranny and folly, instances of justice, generosity and care for the well-being of the subjects are met with as rarely as pearls in the sea, or gems on the surface of the earth. We very seldom have insight into the mode of government and the state of society in those days, nor can we form any idea of the extent of different dominions. Names of various offices and departments are mentioned, but what their respective duties were we scarcely know, whatever the functions of other employés of the state, the administration of Civil and Criminal justice, in other words the department now managed severally by the Munsifs, Sadr-Amíns, Principal Sadr-Amíns, Magistrates, Judges, and the High Courts was in the hands of the Kází guided by no other law than the precepts of Muhammad. No matter whether either or both parties were Musalmáns or Hindús the judgment was invariably pronounced accordingly.² The following incident related by Muhammad

¹ Sir Henry Elliot remarks that the Hindú annalists who lived during the Muhammadan supremacy never use any other word for their co-religionists than *Káfir* (infidel) while the Muhammadans are termed *Momin* (the faithful) by them. They allude to the Muhammadan saints in such reverential terms as if they had implied belief in them. When the Hindús are slain they are said to be "launched into the eternal and unquenchable fires of hell (داخل في النار و السقر شدن) ;" but when a Musalmán is killed, he is spoken of as having "drunk the nectar of martyrdom (شربت شهادت نوشيدند)." Phrases like *Núr-ul-Islám* (light of the Islám), *Muharram-ul-harám* (the venerated Muharram), *Kurán i Sharif* (the noble Kurán) are familiar among them. They never begin an undertaking without the preliminary "*Bismillah*," and consider it essential to praise Allah and his Prophet Mumamad in the preface of a book.

² Hence perhaps is the origin of the *Pancháyat* system and of that of excommunication. When the Hindús saw that they could not expect any equitable decisions of their civil suits from the Muhammadan Kázís and that their claims to hereditary property were not to be ascertained by their own law of inheritance, they preferred their suits before

Ma'súm in his *Tárikh-ul-Sindh* (history of Sindh) illustrates the character of the *Kázis*. During the fifteenth century, it having come to the knowledge of Jám Sanjar Governor of *Thaṭṭha*, that the *Kází* of that place extorted bribes from suitors, he sent for the latter. On being asked why he did so, the *Kází* replied that he undoubtedly coerced the parties to the utmost to give him money, but that he regretted highly that witnesses made off too soon to be fleeced. Still, he added, his children starved, his allowance being so small. The Governor smiled and increased his pay. This is recorded in praise of the Governor's good temper, otherwise we should not have known it.

Muhammadan kings of India may be divided into three classes. In the first class are those monarchs and chiefs who overran the country like free-booters and marauders under the pretence of conducting *Jihád* or sacred war against the *Káfirs*, but really with the object of despoiling the country of its wealth¹ and finding slaves and concubines. Though many of them occupied the country for three or four generations, and even defended it from usurpers and foreign invaders, we can discover no change in their original purpose. Accordingly all the kings from Muhammad Bin *Kásim* and Mahmúd of Ghazní down to Bábar and Humáyún come generally under this category. The second class consists of those who had the opportunity of restoring order to the country. Hence from Akbar to Aurangzeb, all the emperors are ranged under this head. The third class includes those under whom Muhammadan authority began to decline and gradually came to an end.

We find it recorded in the *Chachnámá* that when Muhammad Bin *Kásim* took the fort of *Ráwar* in Sindh, thirty thousand persons were made prisoners. Of these six thousand were sent with the head of the king to the *Khalífa* Valíd in Baghdád, who sold some, made presents of others, made over princess Jaysiyá niece of the king to his own nephew, and wrote to Muhammad Bin *Kásim* to give no quarter to the *Káfirs*, to slaughter them to a man with the exception of those who belonged to the higher classes. This was the order of Allah! At the conquest of Debál, temples were razed to the ground and mosques built on the

their own communities (*Birádari*) whose awards they were bound to acknowledge, and if either party showed any inclination of not abiding by it, he was made an outcast, and how else could the arbitrators (*Panchs*) punish such delinquencies? Akbar certainly appointed *Pandits* in the place of the *Kázis* over the *Hindús*, but he has been severely calumniated by the *Musalmán*s.

¹ Taimúr himself writes that his object in invading Hindustán was two-fold :—First to fight the *Káfirs*, enemies of the prophet's religion, and thus make himself deserving of the eternal rewards promised to the faithful; and secondly to gain worldly advantage by pillaging their property, which is as lawfully allowable to a *Musalmán* as his mother's milk.

sites. General massacre prevailed for three days; prisoners of war were made slaves and immense plunder and booty, collected. In Nairún, idols were broken to pieces; and in the fort of Askaland the armed men were slain and their wives and daughters enslaved. On taking Bahmanábád,¹ sixteen thousand were slain and twenty thousand taken captive. Amongst the latter were two daughters of the king. As soon as they arrived at Baghdád, they were sent to the haram of the Khalífa, but they complained that they were no longer virgins admissible into the Khalífa's seraglio, as they had been violated by his General, Muhammad Bin Kásim. Hereupon the enraged Khalífa wrote a prescript with his own hand to the army, that they should inclose Kásim alive in the raw hide of an ox and send his body to Baghdád. When the two fair captives saw the corps they laughed, and told the Khalífa that he had foolishly taken the life of one of his bravest and most loyal generals, without having first enquired into the truth of their complaint which was entirely false, their only aim in fabricating it being to avenge the death of their father. The Khalífa bit his finger with vexation and instantly had both of them immured alive within a wall. Mír Muhammad Ma'súm writes, that they were tied to the tail of a horse, then dragged along the whole city, and their corpses afterwards thrown into the Tigris. The most cruel laws were enacted by the Muhammadan rulers in Sindh. For instance, a Jáť who came across the Indus to make his obeisance to the Governor, had to bring a dog along with him and his arm was to be branded. Bháthiás, Luhánás and other low tribes were prohibited from wearing fine cloth, riding on horse back and covering their heads and feet. If they committed theft their children were burnt alive. On them the task was imposed of guarding and guiding the caravans. But what was felt as most intolerable was the *jizya* a capitation tax levied by order of the Khalífa U'mar on Non-Muhammadan or Hindú subjects at the rate of forty eight *Dirhams* on the rich, twenty four on the middle class, and twelve on the poor. Within a century however U'mar the Second ruled, that out of his annual income every Hindú was to keep only so much as would suffice for his maintenance during the year, and the rest he was to make over to the Government. It is noteworthy that in crushing the Hindús and destroying their temples, the Musalmáns were following their religion to the letter; while they indulged freely in drinking, notwithstanding its strict prohibition in the Kúrán.

¹ Bahmanábád is often supposed to have been a corruption of Bráhmaṇábád, Barhmanábád or Bráhmaṇábás, and thus gives rise to divers surmises and conclusions, but we have learnt from a good authority that this city was founded by Bahman Darázdest, the great Persian monarch.

Tārīkh-ul-Subuktigīn relates that Mas'ūd son of Mahmūd while amusing himself one day in the Fīrozībāgh, asked A'bdulrazzāq whether he had any objection to carousing and passing the time in revelry. The latter replied it would not be easy to get a better day for doing so, when Mas'ūd waiving all ceremony, sent for cups and fifty flasks of wine containing half a maund (*man*) each.¹ Cups now freely passed round and Mas'ūd ordered that the cups be filled to the brim and full justice done to them. Music struck up and the company began to feel the effects of their wine. Abdul Hasan emptied five flasks, on drinking the sixth he became giddy; the seventh deprived him of his senses and the eighth made him vomit, so that he was taken out by the servants. Bul-Alī-Hakīm was taken away insensible on drinking five cups only. K̄halīl Dāūd and Bunna'īm ran away after having quaffed off ten and twelve cups respectively. Dāūd Maimandī fell down senseless. Musicians, mimes, and dancers had all been intoxicated when Abdul-razzāq took leave, having tossed off eighteen cups. But Mas'ūd went on draining his cups till he had emptied twenty-seven flasks. He then called for water to perform ablutions and prepared himself to pray. A fine picture of a Royal Court!

Nizām-ul-mulk Vazīr of Malik Shāh Saljūk says in his book called *Majma'i-vasāyā*, that the haram had generally a considerable influence over the actions of kings, and in illustration thereof adds that even so independent a monarch as Mahmūd, when displeased with his minister K̄hwāja Ahmad could not dismiss him though he wished to do so, because the queen Mahd Chigil befriended him.

When Shahābuddīn Muhammad Ghorī invaded India, Prithirāj was on the throne of Dillī. His bard Chand has left us a description of that city from which we learn that Dillī was then at the height of its prosperity.² Prithirāj was the last lord paramount of Hindustān. Up till his time the *Rājśūya yajnas* or sacrifices indicatory of universal sove-

¹ A maund (*man*) was not then the same as we have now. It was perhaps equal to a ser.

² Chand the famous bard of Prithirāj thus describes Dillī in his *Prithirājśāśā*.

“भरहटसुलकजनयं भरयं । धरिवस्तभमेजनयं नरयं ॥ तिनखीच महल्ल सत्कजनयं । लख-
कोटि धनी सुकवी गनयं ॥ नरसागर तारग सुद्ध परै । परि राति सुरायन खादखरै ।
मखि कीच उगालन हट्ट मफै । दिखि देव कैलास न दाव ठफै ॥ रखितार वितार न भंति
नवी । परिजानि हुतासन लत्त छवी ॥ मनौ सायक पायक मट्टु किये । विनतार अतारन
मार लिये ॥ इन रूप टगं मग चाहनयं । मनौ सूर सवैयह राहनयं ॥ तिन तट्ट कलिंदय तट्ट
सजं । धर मज्जन तार अनेक सजं ॥ तिन अगग सुभंत सुवगनयं । लखि लकख चौरासिय उ-
छनयं ॥ पछि लल्लिय नीलिय मानिकयं । रतनं जतनं मनि तेज कयं ॥ सुभ दिल्लिय हट्ट सु-
नैर सुफै । करिदंत भिलंत गिरंत सुफै ॥ इय सामत दामत रूप कला । खर खीर उठै घटि
मत्त कला ॥ जिन सामत सामत सुद्धरयं । घटि घडि मडे गिर दुखारयं” ॥

reignty were performed. At this ceremony, all the services were discharged by kings alone. *Svayambars* were held. This was a form of marriage in royal families; the girl chose a husband for herself from amongst the assembly of chiefs and princes, her suitors. Even Prithirāj carried off the daughter of his maternal aunt's son. Heroism was still to be found in the Kshatriyas (the warrior race). In the first battle fought between Muhammad Ghorī and Prithirāj, Govind Rāi the commander of the Hindú forces was attacked by Muhammad with a javelin by which his two front teeth were knocked out. He advanced his elephant to the front and wounded Muhammad in the arm so severely, that he could no longer withstand the onset, and thus retreated and eventually lost the day. In the next engagement however, Govind Rāi was slain. The Hindús blew conch-shells still in those days as musical instruments of war.¹

The author of *Tājulma'ásir* narrates that on taking Merat, Kutbud-din Aibak turned all the temples into mosques and effaced every token of idolatry. At Coel every one who did not accept Islām was put to the sword. At Kálinjar also all the temples were converted into mosques and fifty thousand persons taken into captivity. Tabakáti Násirī informs us that about this time Bakhtiyār Khljī conquered Bihār and put to death a countless multitude of the shaven Bráhmans. He then entered a large library, but owing to the general massacre, no one could be found to point out what sorts of books it contained. It was concluded that the fort and indeed the whole town was a famous place of worship. Even the Hindí word Bihār (Vihār) itself means a seminary or monastery. In my opinion this was a Buddhist Vihār still existing. The same work giving a history of those times says, that Lakhmaníá (Lakshman Sen) king of Nadiyá (Nuddea) never made gifts of less than a lac. Further on, it relates that the currency was of shells; we are thus inclined to suppose that wherever mention of lacs and crores is made in old books it refers to so many shells.

According to *Farishta* no one was allowed formerly to keep an elephant except the king, and Mu'izzuddín Bahrám Sháh took the life of a noble named Ikhtiyáruddín his Vazír's Secretary, being offended at his keeping an elephant at his gate. The same writer tells us that Jaláluddín Fíroz Shah Khljī presented Amír Khusrau with a white robe and a waist-band, an honour conferred on nobles of the highest order only

¹ Col. Tod in his celebrated *Rájastán* thus characterises the events which took place after the death of Prithirāj:—"Scenes of devastation, plunder and massacre commenced which lasted through ages; during which nearly all that was sacred in religion or celebrated in art was destroyed by these ruthless and barbarous invaders."

and that in the reign of the sons of even so powerful a monarch as Shamsuddín Altimash, the Mevátís committed highway robberies in broad day light and entering Dillí at night, broke into houses and carried off the property, and that it was not without danger to go beyond the suburbs at dusk.¹

In his Táríkh 'Aláí, speaking of the kindheartedness and lenity of Jaláluddín Fíroz K̄hiljī, Amír K̄husrau says, he used to release the thieves brought before him without punishment, only making them abjure their trade. One thousand *Thugs* (Thugs) being apprehended were shipped off to Bangál, as if they were transported for life. But the sycophant biographer does not say what had become of that kindheartedness and lenity when his master sent for old brazen idols from Bhilsa, caused them to be trampled upon by the Musalmáns at the gate of his palace and twice gave up Málvā to pillage. A terrible famine occurred during this reign around Dillí, grain selling at the rate of one ser per *chítal* or one and a quarter maund per rupee. This shews how scarce money then was. Despite this rate, the people starved and drowned themselves in the Jamuná.

Before the family of Taimúr occupied the throne of Dillí, 'Aláuddín had been one of the greatest emperors. He assumed the title of the Second Alexander. 'Abdullah Vassáf writes in his Tazkirat-ul-Amsár that religion was a mere subterfuge; the emperor's heart being fixed on plunder. He sent an expedition towards Khambhát (Cambay) and "the army ruthlessly cut every body to pieces right and left in that unholy country for the sake of Islám." Blood flowed in rivers, gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, rupees, emeralds and other precious gems, costly silk, rich brocade and embroidery were carried off in quantities which defy the imagination. Twenty thousand fair women were made slaves and the number of boys and girls taken was so great "as to be impossible for the pen to describe." He was rapacious and tyrannical and never spared fire or sword. He fixed rates of sale himself, even trifling things, such as a needle, a comb, pairs of shoes, earthen pots, parched grain, bread, mint and common sweetmeats not escaping his attention. He arrested the Banjárás (carriers of grain) and detained them in custody until they bound them-

¹ The Mevátís given to ravage and plunder committed highway robberies and surprising the city at dusk broke into the houses and carried off immense booty. The gates of the city were therefore closed for fear of those free-booters just after the evening prayer and no one could visit the tombs of ancestors thereafter. "میواتی دست بغارت و تاراج دواز کرده قطاع الطریق می نمودند شبها درون شهر دهلی آمده خانها می شگافتند و مال مردم می بردند دروازه های شهر را از خوف ایشان وقت نماز دیگر می بستند و کسی را بعد از نماز عصر زیارت قبور بزرگان میسر نمیشد"

selves to sell at the fixed prices, stood securities for one another, and settled their families on the banks of the Jamuná. Failure of the rains at one time caused the rise of the prices by half a *chítal*¹ and this brought the punishment of whipping on the controller of the rates. Nay so strict was he in regard to prices that a person selling grain short of the standard measure had his flesh cut off in proportion. Amír Khusrau relates in his *Tárikh-'Aláí*, that the emperor once sent for a Kází and said he had to ask him a question; the latter exclaimed, his death was near since he would certainly speak the truth which might displease the sovereign, and cost the speaker his head. The emperor promised to spare his life and ordered him to state the truth as to what was written in the code of Muhammadan law regarding the Hindús. The Kází answered that the Hindús were Zimmís (condemned to pay the Jizya tax), if asked silver they ought to pay gold with deep respect and humility; and if the collector of taxes were to fling dirt in their faces they should gladly open their mouths wide. God's order is to keep them in subjection and the Prophet enjoins on the faithful to kill, plunder and imprison, to make them Musalmáns or to put them to the sword, enslave them, and confiscate their property. Abú Hanifa alone permits the levying of the Jizya, and the remaining successors of the Prophet have uniformly laid down that the Hindús ought to be made Musalmáns, otherwise lose their heads. The emperor smiled and remarked he did not know what the Code might prescribe, but that he had issued an edict that only so much grain, milk and other articles of consumption as would suffice for a year should be left to Hindús, and that they should in no case be allowed to lay by any money. In short during the reign of this emperor, owners of landed property were reduced to the position of mere cultivators and women of respectable rank worked as common labourers.²

¹ One tola of silver was equal to a Tánká or a rupee which fetched 50 *chítals* or copper pice.

² Farišta writes "Aláuddín surnamed Alexander II. resumed all religious endowments and rent-free tenures and confiscated all property in the soil. No matter whether a Musalmán or a Káfir every one was mercilessly brought under exactions and left penniless so that he was reduced to beg for the bare necessities of life. The emperor took half the produce of the soil from every body whether he was a Muqaddam or Chaudharí. The Chaudharis and Muqaddams who once rode state horses, wore princely arms, dressed sumptuously and pursued the game like nobles, had at last been reduced to such extremities under this Emperor's rule that their women were obliged to go out and work for their bread. علاءالدین سکندر ثانی ہر دہی کہ در وقف یا در انعام یا در ملک کسی بود ہمہ را خالصہ کرد و باعیان خواہ کافر خواہ مسلمان دست مصادرہ دراز کردہ ہرچہ نزد ایشان یافت بعنف و تعدی بگرفت تا مردم بینوا گشتہ بتحصیل قوت در ماندند و بفرمود تا نصف محصول را بر حکم مساحت بلا قصور باز یافت نمایند و مقدم و چودھری و سائر رعایا

Muhammad Tughlak perhaps surpassed even 'Alá-uddín in greatness and splendour. I have stated elsewhere that he was highly accomplished, and learned, conformed to all the moral precepts of his religion and was also brave and courageous; but he was almost mad. Shahábuddín a contemporary writer states in his book *Masálikul Absár* that the highest order of nobility was that of *Khán*, and that eighty *Kháns* attended this Emperor's court, each commanding ten thousand cavalry. The next order was *Malik*, then *Amír* and the last *Sipahsálár*. The army contained nine hundred thousand horses and three thousand elephants equipped in time of war with iron plates. At the royal looms four hundred manufacturers were employed in weaving silk, and five hundred in making brocade and embroidered cloth for dresses of honour; the Emperor distributed two lacs annually besides ten thousand Arab horses. The grand *vazír* had four deputies and as many secretaries under him, and each secretary superintended three hundred clerks, the lowest in grade receiving not less than a thousand rupees yearly. There were twelve hundred physicians and ten thousand falconers. The royal musicians were put to death if they presumed to sing before any one else than the Emperor. Five hundred courtiers dined with the Emperor at his table, and two thousand sheep and two thousand five hundred oxen were daily slaughtered in the royal kitchen. A fat sheep cost one rupee, and an ox two. The *darbár* was held both in the morning and evening. The Emperor, not to take too great a multitude with him to the chase, contented himself with but one hundred thousand horsemen, as many led horses adorned with richly embroidered caparisons, and two hundred elephants. Besides tents, four wooden two storied lodgings were carried with the host on two hundred camels. Ibn Batúta gives many particulars regarding this reign. Amongst other things he says, the palace erected by this emperor was supported by a thousand pillars of wood and had a wooden roof, both exquisitely varnished. From all gifts made by the Emperor ten per cent. was deducted by his office men. The city of Dillí he adds was the greatest in the world, and had the fewest inhabitants. The emperor had two whims, enriching the poor and beheading the rich—occurrences to be daily met with at the palace. The courtyard was always bestrewed with corpses. One day his horse started, but on looking closely he says, he saw a body lying there cut into three pieces. The Emperor inflicted heavy punishment for minor offences and spared none whether wealthy, indigent, ignorant or learned. Hundreds of men were brought up every day fettered and manacled. Some were

را برابر اعتبار نمایند و کار چودھریان و مقدمان کہ دایم سوارہ می‌گشتند و اصلہ
مے بستند و جامہای فاخرہ میپوشیدند و بطریق امرا شکار میکردند بجای رسید کہ زنان ایشان
در خانہ مردم کار میکردند و آنچه در وجہ اجرت می یافتند صرف قوت خود میساختند“

slain, others beaten, and the rest cruelly scourged and tortured. When the Emperor ordered the inhabitants of Dillí to remove to Daulatábád, the former, though eight or nine miles long, was so completely deserted that it had not even a single dog or a cat left, and but two men, one palsied the other blind. Both were brought before the Emperor, one was thrown from a catapult; the other was dragged to the new capital which he reached with only one leg. His Imperial Majesty looking at the deserted city, where smoke was no longer seen curling in the air, declared that his heart was now appeased. His brother Mas'údkhán a most handsome youth, being arrested on suspicion of raising insurrection, though quite innocent, confessed the guilt for fear of torture, dreaded more than death by many, and was executed by order of the Emperor. The corpse was left exposed for three days at the same spot, where two years before the mother of that unhappy youth and daughter of the Emperor 'Aláuddín had been stoned to death on a charge of adultery. Baháuddín Gushtásp, the emperor's nephew, rebelled against him, and when brought before him, was first remanded to the seraglio to be spat upon and reviled by the women and then flayed alive. His flesh was roasted and sent to his wife and children, and a little put before the elephants who refused to touch it. Zia'uddín observes in his chronicle called Fíroz Sháhí that Muammad Tughlak formed such wild and extravagant projects as involved the country in confusion and ruin. Anarchy prevailed and whole provinces were lost, this made him hateful to his subjects and emptied his exchequer. As the Emperor became hardened, his subjects grew more and more unruly and rebellious and at the last his tyranny became intolerable, and the country bled under his misrule. The Emperor himself once told the chronicler, that he never let a man go unpunished whom he so much as suspected of perfidy; that the least disrespect in his presence was punishable with death, and that should continue so as long as he lived. Dillí was visited with so terrible a famine during this reign that men ate human flesh. Multán, Gujrát and Badáún were entrusted to the rule of a youthful musician; a gardener was raised to the office of vazír; barbers, cooks, weavers, and other mechanics were his courtiers and had important posts committed to their trust.

Fíroz Sháh has been considered as an undoubtedly good and virtuous sovereign. He writes in his own memoir, Futúhát-i-Fíroz-Sháhí, that before his time death had been the penalty of light offences, that criminals were burnt alive or sawn asunder, not to speak of the amputation of arms and legs, the cutting off of noses and ears, the extraction of eyes, the hammering of the bones, the nailing of the hands and feet, the

flaying alive and the cutting of tendons, which were events of daily occurrence. But according to Farishta when he stormed the fortress of Nagarkot (Kángará) he broke the idols, and mixed the pieces with beef, and put them in corn bags, which were hung round the necks of Bráhmans-priests, who were led in procession through the town.

Shamssiráj has related in his biography of Fíroz Sháh, that the Emperor once heard that an old Bráhman residing in Dillí openly retained an idol in his house, and invited a large number of Hindús to celebrate their worship before it. He was at once brought before the Emperor along with his idol and sentenced by the Maulvís to be burnt alive unless he became a Musalmán. He declined the alternative. Accordingly a funeral pyre was raised at the gate of the palace, and the Bráhman burnt alive together with his idol in the presence of the whole court. Fíroz Sháh writes in his memoir, that the Hindús and other unbelievers had agreed to pay the *jizya* and therefore had been spared together with their children, but now they had begun to build new temples in the city and its suburbs. This is contrary to the precept of the Prophet, which expressly lays down, that temples must not be suffered to remain. The Emperor, he continues, has therefore razed them to the ground and put to the sword the ringleaders of the infidels who led others to hell; he has scourged others and otherwise punished the rest so that the sin of idolatry has been rooted out. There is, he adds, a tank in the village of Maloh; the Hindús built temples there, and in festivals began to resort to it in great numbers, armed and mounted on horseback. Their women and children went in litters and carriages. Thousands of pilgrims assembled and worshipped the idols. The Emperor, says he, repaired to the spot in person on a holiday and ordered that the ringleaders be put to death, the rest exempted from heavy punishments, the temples demolished and mosques raised on their sites. Similarly some Hindús set up a temple in the village of Kuháná and resorted to it to celebrate worship. They were forthwith arrested, and brought before the Emperor. The prime movers were slain before the gateway, and their books, idols and vessels of worship burnt on the spot, as a proof that no unbeliever can carry on with impunity such abhorred rites under the rule of Islam. It is stated in Táríkh-i-Fírozsháhí that when the *jizya* was imposed on the Bráhmans, they assembled and made reiterated complaints, that they would rather burn themselves than pay the tax. The Emperor was inexorable and said, they might do as they liked, but they would never be exempted from the tax.¹

¹ Shamssiráj ironically calls the wailings of these unhappy Bráhmans "Melo-dious songs (كلمات پر نغمات)."

The Bráhmans sat without food and drink, till they were about to die, when the Hindú residents of the city took the impost upon themselves, and sent them away to their homes. However, the Hindús were not the only objects of persecution, Fírozsháh states in his memoir that the Musalmáns of the Shí'a sect, also called Ráfizí, tried to persuade people to embrace their creed, wrote books, began to teach and give lectures and blasphemed the successors of the Prophet. The Emperor, he adds, brought them to trial immediately, charged them with heresy, punished the teachers, reprimanded or publicly exposed the rest, and destroyed their books. But where was his orthodoxy, when he took to drinking wine? Kẖán-i-A'zam Tátár Kẖán once came to the Emperor, who desired his son to put off the visit on some pretext. But the grand Kẖán said he had some important business on hand. The Emperor admitted him and concealed the flagon and wine-cup under his couch. This did not escape the sagacious Kẖán who began to admonish his Majesty, though the latter assured him he drank only now and then. He would not listen to this subterfuge, and did not cease lecturing, till the Emperor swore never to taste spirituous liquors so long as the Kẖán remained in the camp. His presence was soon dispensed with by his removal to Hisár. Let us now turn to the administration of justice during this reign. Two money dealers one day complained to the Emperor that the *shashgānī* silver coin (about equal to the two *áná* coin of the present day) was one *rattí* less, and prayed that the matter might be investigated, and that should it be proved, the officers of the mint might be punished. His Majesty spoke to his Vazír Kẖán Jahán Maḡbúl, who replied, the case of the imperial coin was like that of a virgin; the integrity once questioned its credit and currency were ruined for ever. He therefore advised the Emperor to detain the money dealers, and promised they should themselves acknowledge that the coin was whole. He then informed the superintendent of the mint who suborned a goldsmith to hide in the charcoal used for the test an amount of silver equal in weight to what was wanting in the coins which were brought to be melted down and weighed. These were then melted before the Emperor and the exchangers; and the lump of silver found of the proper weight. The unfortunate complainants were banished for preferring a false charge, and the superintendent was invested with robes of honour and carried in triumph on an elephant through the town.

Shamssiráj gives several anecdotes in his annals of the reign of Fíroz Sháh (Tárikh-i- Fírozsháhí) of events of which he was an eye witness; and amongst others the one related above intended as an encomium on the shrewdness of the Vazír. It is indeed to such an eulogizing

spirit that we owe the few incidents illustrative of the character of the great men of the times ; otherwise who would have dared to relate an event disparaging to them in the least degree ? This same writer favours us with a story in praise of Fīroz Sháh's good nature. Once a trooper not being able to produce his horse at the general muster, was asked by the Emperor why he did not settle the matter with the clerks. He said he had nothing to purchase their attention with, and on the Emperor's enquiry as to how much he required, he replied that one gold mohur would suffice. The Emperor at once gave him the piece of gold with which he bribed the clerks and received a certificate that he possessed a horse, while he was in truth without one. Ghayásuddīn Túghlaq, uncle of Fīroz Sháh, while governor of the Panjáb, intended to marry his brother Rajab, Fīroz Shah's father, to some Rájput lady, and hearing that Ránámal Bhaṭṭhí had a very beautiful and accomplished daughter asked her hand for his brother. The Ráná haughtily declined the suit. Ghayásuddīn at once marched against him at the head of a large army with the ostensible pretext of recovering tribute and treated him with such rigour that the damsel, seeing her grandmother weeping piteously, entreated her father to give her off at once, if this would avert his destruction, and to console himself by imagining that the Mughals carried her away by force. Ránámal was at length fain to send her to the governor's camp, and Fīroz Sháh was an offspring of this union. Fear of such dishonour to the family was doubtlessly the chief motive to many Rájputs for killing their daughters as soon as they were born.¹ But the danger has passed away and we are ashamed to own that some of our countrymen still continue the inhuman practise of female infanticide.

¹ The inhuman custom of female infanticide certainly prevailed in Arabia in ancient times. The following occurs in Tafsír Fathul 'Azízí "In Arabia daughters were buried alive the moment they were born. The motive with some was poverty—perhaps utter want of means of support—and fear of incurring enormous expense in their marriage and dowry ; but the majority put their daughters to death because they were afraid they might be allied in matrimony to those who were not their equals in rank and whose unreasonable claims they would be unable to meet. So widely and openly was this inhuman custom practised in that country in those days, that instead of being struck with horror at the perpetration of this crime they regarded it as honourable or even a sign of high birth. They valued their offspring no more highly than their property, and they thought they could dispose of the one as easily as of the other at their pleasure. (در عرب رسم بود که دختران را بمجورد تولد در گور دفن میکردند برخیه بجهت خوف فقر و گرسنگی و کثرت اخراجات که بسبب تزویج و تجهیز دختر لازم می آید این کار میکردند و جماعتی بسبب لعوق عار و خوف حصول علاقه خویشتی و دامادی با کسی که هم چشم خود نیست و گران دانستن تحمل جفای آنها این عمل می نمودند و این کار شایع بعد از در آنوقت در آن بلاد رائج گشته بود که اراد فخر و عزت میشمردند و اصلا خوف عقاب بران نمیداشتند بگمان آنکه اولاد ما بمنزله ملک و مال است بهر نوع که خواهیم دران تصرف نمائیم)"

What is the use, we ask, of a waterproof suit when the rain is over, or of an umbrella when the sun is set? It is equally absurd to light the lamp in day time, or to take physic when the distemper has disappeared. But the phantom of that danger is perhaps still before their eyes and they go on staining their hands with the blood of their innocent and helpless daughters. Certainly the saying "Strike the trail if you will, but the serpent is gone" is closely applicable to them. According to Col. Tod, in this reign when Jaisalmer was invaded, another memorable *jauhar* (*jivhar*) occurred, in which 16 thousand women committed suicide. The first had taken place in 1295 A. D. when twenty-four thousand women gave up their lives to sword and fire. Múlráj and Ratan went into the seraglio and told the ladies to depart this world while their husbands were alive, and meet them again in heaven. Sodá Rání smiled, and assured them that preparations would be made at night to reach heaven the next morning; and this was the last night they lived.

We are told by Shamssiráj, in his annals of the reign of Fíroz Sháh, that when the imperial exchequer was empty, credit orders were given to soldiers on the revenues of the country for their pay. These they sold at one third the value to bankers, who again transferred them to governors at half. Admirable piece of economy! The same author informs us that the Emperor and his army lost their way and wandered into the Ran (Runn) of Kachh (Cutch) on their retreat towards Gujrát after the unsuccessful invasion of Thaṭṭhá. They met with various hardships and disasters, entailing terrible losses. Kháns and Amírs had to walk on foot, and the Vazír at Dillí heard not a word about the Emperor for six months! Now a lad of a village school can travel from Thaṭṭhá to Gujrát without any guide other than a map of Hindustán and a compass in his pocket. Various sorts of tolls and duties, in other words modes of wringing money¹ from the people, were in force. Fíroz Sháh writes in his memoir that he abolished no less than twenty two imposts,² retaining only

¹ We learn from Táríkh i Fírozsháhi that a person once brought three maunds of cotton for sale in the market and was willing to pay the custom at the usual rate, i. e. three *dángs* or 18 rattís of silver, but he was asked more, and as he happened then to have by him no more than this, he was harassed and detained for many days, till his cotton was burnt by accident.

² Our readers will wonder how the poor managed to live in those days when most of the commonest articles of consumption and inferior callings were taxed; e. g. grain, flowers, betel, indigo, fish, the carding of cotton, soap manufacture, silk, ghí, parched grain, houses, grazing grounds, gambling houses, brokery, books and musical entertainments, while the Muhtasib (superintendent of weights and measures), Kotvál (police officer) and Chaudharis (heads of professions) had separate dues, not to speak of the duty levied on stalls, booths, and the grounds adjoining to the market, as also the portion mulcted at the delivery of the landlord's share by the cultivator and its attestation by some official.

the tithe of the produce of land, customs, *jizya* (poll tax on the unbelievers) and the fifth of plunder as being lawful and sanctioned by religion. This Emperor was guided in all his actions by divination. Náib Bárbaḳ had all but been appointed to the satrapy of Gujrat, and preparations made for his departure, but passages in the *Qurán* taken at hazard indicated the name of Zafarḳhán, and he was deputed instead of Bárbaḳ. Prisoners' diet then consisted of three sers of pulse called *múṅg* (*Phaseolus mungo*) according to the weights of those times. Grain, however, was very cheap in this reign; wheat selling at eight, gram and barley at four *chítals* per maund. In other words, ten sers of gram for one *chítal* could maintain a horse. One *chítal* would buy two pounds of grapes, which were of seven kinds and so abundant that the duties thereon alone brought eighty thousand rupees to the royal coffers. The grand Vazír's emoluments amounted to three lacs of rupees annually in addition to personal charges on account of his family and servants. His *haram* contained two thousand women; many will say, put these old stories aside and pass over to the great Timur (Taimúr) and his descendants. Well, we shall have something to say about him too. Taimúr states in his own memoirs (*Malfúzát-i-Taimúrí*) that he ordered five hundred inhabitants of Dairálpur to be punished and their women and children enslaved. He also did the same at Ajodhan. He sent his men to collect the fines imposed upon Bhatner. Quarrels arising, he sent a detachment of troops to storm the fortress. The unbelievers shutting up their women and children in their houses set them on fire. The remainder were massacred by his soldiers, ten thousand in one hour! On arriving in the neighbourhood of Dillí, he gave orders to his army to plunder, and kill all that they should meet with on their way. He besieged the fortress of Loní, on the other side of the Jamuná. Many Rájputs set fire to their houses, after inclosing their families within them. Those who fought were put to the sword, and a great number taken captives. The next day he caused the Musalmán prisoners to be separated from the unbelievers, who were instantly given over to execution. He adds, he gave up the whole city to fire and plunder sparing the houses of Sayyids, Shekhs and learned men. The booty carried off is said to have been very great. He goes on to say that when his soldiers began to seize those Hindús who were running away to the city, the latter drew their swords, and a general conflict ensued. The Turks pillaged the city, and massacred the inhabitants many of whom destroyed their families by setting fire to their houses. Fifteen thousand Turks were thus engaged on Thursday, and the whole band forced an entrance with all its ferocity into the city the next day, and nothing was to be seen but bloodshed, destruction, and rapine. The same scene of horror continued on Saturday also. Many of the

soldiers took fifty or more captives each, but there was scarcely a Turk who had less than twenty prisoners. Diamonds, pearls and other precious gems, jewels, vessels and coins of gold and silver, brocade, silk and embroidery and other valuable things were the booty. He states further that he remained at Dillí for fifteen days, held *darbárs* in merriment and spent his time in magnificent banquets. But he reflected that his destination in Hindustán was to extirpate the unbelievers, and though he had slain hundreds of thousands of infidels and idolaters, he must not rest till he had fulfilled his mission. Accordingly he set out to ravage Merat. He exults that his army slaughtered the men, seized the property, and enslaved the wives and children. His nobility, he says, thought it was very easy to conquer the whole of Hindustán, but the great evil of settling in the country would be the degeneration of their descendants, who would lose the vigour and courage of their ancestors and would thus become as effeminate as the natives. We have read in some history, that Taimúr on imprisoning the king of Jambú, made him a Musalmán on the spot and forced him to eat beef¹. Of Taimúr's brutal ferocity, of course, we cannot

¹ Amongst other Persian writers we have Abdurrazzáq, author of *Matla'ussádain*, who gives an account of Hindustán. He arrived at Kallikoṭ (Calicut) by sea as an ambassador of Sultán Sháh Ruḡh, son of Taimúr, to the court of Vijayanagar in 1442 A. D. when the Sayyid Emperors of Dillí ruled over an area of 12 miles only. The account is very interesting as it throws light on the condition of the people, commerce and court etiquette of those days. Merchandize, he says, is allowed to lie in the market apparently without any care on the part of the owner and is looked after by the state (Rájá's) servants, whose vigilance does not allow the theft of so much as a straw. The state in return levies a tax of 2½ per cent. on all sales. He admires the honourable treatment by the natives of the crew of a vessel driven ashore by adverse gales. In any other harbour it was sure to have been plundered, but here it remains safe and uninjured. The natives are strange people scarcely like human beings and yet not altogether like devils. They are from the king down to a menial servant stark naked with the exception of a single cloth worn between the legs, but nearly all are armed with a sword and a shield. The Musalmáns however are dressed decently like the Arabs. The king is called Shámori (Zamorin). The law of inheritance in the royal family is not the same as elsewhere. A Zamorin is succeeded by his sister's son. They do not hold the tie of matrimony as sacred as other nations. Polyandry prevails amongst women, the husbands having intercourse with the wife by turns. The natives are great adepts in the art of navigation. Our author supposes them to be of Chinese extraction. The word Kochín (Kochak Chín) certainly bears some resemblance to the word China, Kochín is contiguous to Calicut and exports immense quantities of pepper. Abdurrazzáq's highest admiration, however, is reserved for the splendour and magnificence of Vijayanagar, the capital of Maháráj Bírbugkarái. This king had the celebrated philosophical writer Mádhavá-cháryá for his minister. He is said to have possessed a thousand elephants and an army of a million of men; who were organized perhaps in the same way as the Peshvá's nine hundred thousand cavalry. The people, says the author, write with iron pens on palm leaves. A chief eunuch called Danáik seated on a throne administers justice and disposes of other state affairs in the judgment hall. On both sides of him stand rows of macebearers. Whoever comes falls prostrate on the ground before him, and offers him some present. When this dignity goes to visit the king, umbrellas of divers colours are borne before him; bands playing, and bards singing his fame, lead the procession. The royal palace has seven gates, and one umbrella is left at each. The Danáik approaches the king alone, and having conversed with his royal master returns home with the same pomp and splendour. The

say too much, but even so good humoured a prince as Bábar thought no entry into a city could be auspicious without setting fire to its markets.¹ We learn from Tuzuk-i-Bábari (Memoirs of Bábar) that prisoners taken in war were butchered in cold blood before the royal pavilion; and on one occasion such was the number brought forward for this infamous butchery, that the sovereign's tent had three times to be removed to different stations—the ground before it being drenched in blood and encumbered with carcases!

troops are paid in cash once in four months. The country around is well-populated and presents an appearance of prosperity and opulence. Even the lowest person in society has ornaments in his ears, on his wrists, fingers, arms and neck. The city is defended by seven walls surrounding it and in the middle is a *paktá* round fortress built on a rock. The *bázár* is in the form of a cross, and extends over a large area. The jewellers are seen disposing of precious gems as common articles of sale and purchase. The flowers grow in luxurious abundance, as if the people could not live without them. One quarter of the city is assigned to elephants and is adapted to their breeding. The elephant on which the king rides is whitish having about 30 spots on his body. The mint is situated opposite the police station in which there is a force of 12000 constables maintained by the brothel taxes. If a theft is not traced, the patrolling constable is made to reimburse the loss to the owner. Abdurrazzák's slaves ran away and he was paid their purchase money. His present to the monarch consisted of five horses and nine pieces of silk. The interview was held in the audience hall, which was supported on forty pillars. Several Bráhmans and courtiers were standing around the king who was dressed in silk cloth called *jáma* and had a very valuable necklace of pearls. He was a brown-coloured tall and slenderly built youth, whose whiskers were only beginning to appear. His face presented a grave forbearing air. The ambassador bowed his head, and the king very kindly seated him near himself and receiving the Emperor's letter from his hands gave it to his interpreter. He remarked that he was highly pleased by the Emperor having deputed his ambassador to him. The season was then sultry and Abdurrazzák who was clothed somewhat heavily began to perspire. Hereupon the king very kindly gave him the China fan he had in his hand, and dismissed him with a present of two betels, camphor and a purse of five hundred rupees. Two sheep, eight fowls, five maunds of rice, one maund of ghí, one maund of sugar, and two gold mohurs called *varáh* were daily supplied for the ambassador's maintenance. He visited the king twice a week in the afternoon and invariably received betel, camphor and cash as at the first interview. The King explained through his interpreter that he offered the cash because he could not entertain him at his own table, as his imperial master entertained foreign ambassadors. The richness of the royal throne is particularly dwelt upon by the ambassador. It was large and made of pure and solid gold, profusely ornamented with tessellated work of precious stones. The seat and cushions were fringed with pearls. The doors, walls and the roof were lined with gold leaves, on which beautiful patterns of various coloured gems were inlaid. During the interview the king asked some account of Samarkand, Hirát and Shiráz and also of the army and horses belonging to the Emperor and expressed his intention of sending an embassy to him with eunuchs, elephants and other valuable articles. We cannot surmise who that *Danáik* was and why he is called *Khájasará*, unless it be *Madhaváchárya* himself who might have been taken for a eunuch on account of his mustaches and beard being shaved.

¹ Farišta states "Babar having arrived at the city of Láhaur (Lahore) set on fire several bázárs as was customary with the descendants of Changlezhán for the sake of a good omen. (بابر شاه قرین فتح و ظفر به بلدة لاهور در آمده چنانکه رسم و داب چنگیزیانست

بازارها را جهت قاتل و شگون آتش زد)"

People are generally regaled with Akbar's praises to win them to the alman régime, but it is forgotten that by a great many of his co-re-nists, the Musalmáns, he was considered no better than a Hindú or ífir. A perusal of the epistle addressed by Akbar to the king of ía, and containing an Arabic verse,¹ leads us to infer, that the lat-had accused Akbar of apostacy. Akbar's praises, however, are sung y in the tune piped by his panegyrist Vazír, Abul Fazl; but his-ans like Abdul Kádír Badáúní who had no hopes from Akbar have en quite an opposite view of his character. Badáúní, is so far oppo-to Akbar that he relates an anecdote, in his Muntakhab-ut-ta-ah indirectly reflecting on Akbar's religious principles. Faizí, who elated Sanskrit works into Persian for the Emperor, fell sick. Akbar et to visit him, but he barked like a dog, and when he died his ath bulged and lips blackened.² Education of the masses was en-ly forbidden, and if Akbar were to rise from the dead he would cer-ly cause all the Halkabandí schools to be blown up.³ The love in-que of Jahángír and Núr Jahán and their subsequent marriage are d known. But we are surprised that Akbar himself, righteous as he a should have forcibly taken the married wife of Abdul Vasi' into haram. It is said, that on seeing her the Emperor was captivated her charms, and he sent word to Abdul Vasi' to divorce her as it has en the custom all along of the Mughal Emperors to secure the divorce those whom they liked to have. The unfortunate husband was obliged comply and went away to Bidar (Beder) in the Deccan (Dakhan). Kán-i-

"Allah is talked of as having children, and the Prophet as being a sorcerer. When the world spares neither Allah nor his Prophet, how can we expect to be free from its sorceries."

(قيل ان الله ذرول قيل ان الرسول قد كهنا مانجا الله و الرسول معافي لم
الورا فكيف انا) ؟

"Faizi the greatest of the poets and learned men of Akbar's court has thus been answered by Abdulkádir. "Even the Jews, Christians, Hindús and Mag' were far superior to him. *** His name though washed with the water of hundreds of rivers will remain pure till the judgment day." In what appropriate words is the date of his death intimated? He was a dog who left this world in a very miserable state, since he must needs die the day of his death is found in his entering the eternal fires of hell. (فیضی را دین چو مرد سال وفاتش فصیح گفت سگ از جهان رفته بحال قبیح) ۰ ۰ ۰ چو بنا چار رفت شد نابال سال تاریخ خالدی فی النار) "Tōdarmal's tyranny and the date of his death are expressed in the following terms. "Tōdarmal held the world firmly in his tyrannical grasp and when going to hell left it happy at his departure. At the time of his death asked the muse for the date, she replied 'He went to hell' (تودر مل آنکه ظلمش بگرفت) بود عالم چون رفت سوی دروز خلقی شدند خرم تاریخ رفتنش را از پیر عقل جستم خبر گفت پیر دانا آنرفت در جهنم).

³ Akbar gave orders that the education of the lower classes in the city should be strictly prohibited; lest they might become a source of perpetual troubles and disturbances

”ارازل را از خواندن علم در شهر ممانع آیند که فسادها ازیں قوم مے خیزد“

A'zam one day spoke to the Emperor of the oppression of the tax-gatherers.¹ This only provoked Akbar to imprison him in his garden. Akbar's administration of Sindh is recorded in the history of that province by his contemporary Muhammad Ma'súm, who had obtained three villages as a Jágír there. He states that Gesúkhán arrived in August 1574 A.D. with the imperial *farmán* to the effect that the territory of Bhakkar or Sindh be divided between Muhib Alíkhán and Mujáhidkhan, and without having any interview with the latter desired the fortress of Sakkar to be evacuated. Mujáhid's men fought; many were slain and wounded on both sides and the fortress remained in the hands of Mujáhid who despatched a force to Luhárí and sacked and burnt it. On hearing of this Akbar gave Bhakkar in Jágír to Tarsúkhán (April 1575). He was about to go when the courtiers advised the Emperor, that it was unsafe to entrust the frontier provinces to Tarsú. He was accordingly made governor of Agra and Banmálidás Díván and Sayyid Muhammad Mír'adl were deputed to Sindh. The latter made a grant of fifty thousand bighás to learned men and Sayyids, but he made undue and inequitable exactions from the people, by levying the uniform rate of five maunds of grain per bighá of land, without any discrimination of its productive powers. On his death his son Abul Fazl succeeded him in 1576 and was superseded in 1578 by Akbar's trustworthy Khájasará, I'timád Khán. He was violent and hot tempered. The people being displeased brought complaints to the Emperor, who said, that if these were true the governor should certainly lose his life. The same year the soldiers mutinied and slew him in open court. The territory was then given in Jágír to Fatahkhan Bahádur, Rájá Parmánand and Rájá Todarmal who took possession of their respective shares. Parmánand being summoned by the Emperor, the people rebelled in his absence against his brother

¹ "Several tracts of the country were depopulated by the oppression of the Karoris. The inhabitants, left homeless, were obliged to sell their wives and children into slavery and wandered away to distant countries. Revenue fell, the Karoris were called upon by Rájá Todarmal to give their accounts. Many were cruelly beaten, others tortured to death and the rest being immured for ever in the cells of the Dívánkhána, died, so that neither sword nor the executioner was necessary to effect their death. Their bodies lacked even a winding sheet and a grave. The whole country besides the tracts yielding revenues to the state direct, were held as jágirs, rent free, by the nobles and the Emperor given up to licentiousness and extravagance, had no leisure to attend the army or the affairs of the subject.

(اکثر ولایت از ظلم کروریان ویران شده رعایا زن و فرزندان را فروخته باطراف متفرق شدند و جمیع از پا افتاد و کروریان زیر محاسبه راجه تودر مل آمده و بیشتر از مردم خوب در تبه ضرب شدند و در شکنجه او نیز مردند و جمعی در حبس ابدی دیوانخانه کچهری چنان هلاک شدند که هیچ احتیاج بجلائی و سیاهی نباند و گور و کفن هم نیافتند @ @ @ و چون تمامی ولایات سوای آنچه بخالصه منسوب بود امرا جاگیر داشتند و از کثرت فسق و فجور و زیادت خرج بیوتات و جمع اموال فرصت نگاهداشتن سپاهی و پرداختن احوال رعایا نبود)

Mithodás. Fatahkhan quelled the insurrection and on presenting himself at the imperial court was rewarded with Parmanand's share. Fatahkhan was simple and covetous, but kept his subjects conciliated. His deputy Shahabkhan being an inexperienced man, was easily persuaded to attack the fort of Ibrahim Nāhar and was killed with his brethren and chosen veterans of Fatahkhan. When Akbar heard this, he resumed the Jágir, and granted it to Muhammad Saddíkhán. He arrived in 1586, and led his troops against Jánibeg, governor of Thatthá. The battle was still uncertain when a royal mandate arrived announcing that Jánibeg had paid tribute and owned allegiance. The engagement ceased. On Muhammad Saddík presenting himself at the imperial *darbár* the Jágir was resumed. During his government two harvests were consumed by locusts; a terrible dearth ensued and large tracts were depopulated while the Balúchís ransacked the province on both sides of the Indus. Sindh was then given in Jágir to Isma'il Khan in 1588. His son Rahmán Kulí being a good and wise administrator the country again began to prosper. But Isma'il Khan was soon summoned to the Royal presence, and the Jágir was granted in the same year to Shírúyá Sultán. He was a drunkard, and leaving the government to his slaves gave himself up to voluptuousness. He never held a *darbár* nor allowed any one to come to him. Alms-houses were closed, and allowances to mendicants stopped. Shekh Sáugí was his minister for a time, and did not scruple to lay hands on any thing he could find in the shops. The atrocities, in short, were so great that the cry of the people went up to heaven. The vicious governor was divested of the Jágir which was given back to Muhammad Saddík, but a hard famine soon followed, and Sindh was made over in Jágir to Khan Khánán who had been sent by Akbar to subjugate Jánibeg, the rebel governor of Thatthá. Khan Khánán concluded the war successfully in 1590 and brought Jánibeg to Akbar, and caused him to be invested with the office of *panjhzári*, leaving Daulat Khan in charge of the governorship of Sindh. We are informed by the writer of Beglár Náma, that Ráná Sinh Ráj of Amarkot dying about this time, Jánibeg placed his son Kisándás on the throne. Khan Khánán had married the daughter of Mánsinh, and recommended him as successor to his brother the deceased Ráná. Jánibeg accordingly wrote to Abulkásim to instal Mánsinh as Ráná. Kisándás first intended to oppose him, but for some reason abandoned the purpose. Abulkásim entered the fortress at once, confiscated property, demolished temples, ordered cows to be slaughtered and destroyed the "hateful idols of the unholy *Káfirs*." Islámism superseded idolatry. Abulkásim plunged into revelry and debauchery. Sayyid Jamáluddín relates that when Akbar's father Húmayún travelled to Kandhár, through

Sindh, Mirzá Sháh Husain was governor, who being a valetudinarian, the government was in the hands of his slaves, and an innkeeper Isma'íl was his minister. The ordeal of red hot iron balls was very prevalent, and that by water was also resorted to. A pole was fixed in deep water, and the accused was bidden to dive in, and sit at the bottom holding the pole. An arrow was then shot with full strength, and was brought back to the archer; the pole was then shaken for the accused to come out, if the accused sat under water until the arrow was brought back and the pole shaken he was proved innocent; if however he was frightened and came out earlier, he was judged guilty. The same satrap when taking possession of Multán from Sultán Husain caused all the inhabitants from seven to seventy years of age to be taken prisoners, and several massacred, giving up the town to plunder.¹

Amír Khusro says, that the Musalmáns were proud of learning. "Hindvī". Mauláná Dáúd wrote a book in "Hindvī" in 1370 named Chandában, giving an account of Jauná Sháh Khán Jahán. The Hindús on the other hand scrupled to learn Persian, and were in consequence shut out from high imperial preferments. It was in the reign of Sikandar Lodí that a Hindú first composed a book in Persian, taught it and assumed the poetical name of Barhaman, but during the reign of Akbar Persian was a favourite study among the Hindús. The financial records were at first kept in Hindí, but Toḍarmal saw that the Hindús would be kept out of the more important offices so long as they were ignorant of Persian, the sovereign's language. He therefore ordered that the business of the Financial Department be conducted in Persian. He was made Díván (Finance minister). The Musalmáns grudged the bestowal of such a high post upon a Hindú. Akbar asked who managed their estates. They replied, the Hindús. Akbar then rejoined that he was equally justified in managing his affairs in the best way he could. In a short time almost all offices were monopolized by the Hindús. Manohar, a son of Lonkaran Rájá of Sámbar was a good Persian poet and had adopted Tausaní as his poetical title though at court he was called Mirzá Manohar. On the death of Sa'dullah Vazír of Sháh Jahán, the duties devolved on Rái Raghunáth and Chandrabhán as they were thought the best Persian writers of the time.²

¹ The same Sindh is now called the garden of Hindústán and bears comparison with Egypt in fertility and opulence. Telegraph lines are completed and railroads are being constructed gradually. The Governor-General visits the country and the people present to him grateful addresses.

² According to Farišta the Hindús considered it objectionable (perhaps on religious grounds) to read Persian till the time of Sikandar Lodí. (گائران بخواندن و نوشتن خط)

فارسی که تا آنزمان در میان ایشان معمول نبود پرداختند)

The Hindú Rájás of that time did not scruple to marry their sisters and daughters to Emperors, like Akbar, who freely allowed his queens to remain Hindús. Jahángír was indifferent to religious matters, but after him the daughters of Hindú Rájás were converted to Muhammadanism. Jahángír, Khusrau, Sháhjahán, Bahádursháh, Kámbakhsh, 'Azímushshán and 'Alamgír the Second were all born of the daughters of Hindú Rájás. Nor was there any restriction as to crossing the Indus-observed; for instance, Rájá Mánsinh of Amer went over to Kábul by order of the Emperor and Jagat Sinh of Kotá invaded Badakhshán with fourteen thousand Rájputs. Akbar had 252 Mansabdárs or Amírs, their grades being according to the number of horsemen each had under him, varying from 5000 to 500.¹ Of these 31 were Hindús. Of 163 Mansabdárs, of inferior rank, each having charge over cavalry from 500 to 200 in number, 26 were Hindús. The highest military rank was then held by Mánsinh, commander of 7000 cavalry, (Haft Hazári), who bore the title of Farzand (son). But in the time of Sháhjahán, of 12 Mansabdárs commanding corps consisting of more than 5000 each, none was Hindú. There were however, 110 Hindús amongst 609 Mansabdárs of the class first mentioned. However Rájás Jasvant Sinh, Jay Sinh and Jagat Sinh held only the seventeenth, nineteenth and the twentyfourth rank respectively. Fans of large size waved by a single man were then employed; the use of faus (*pankhás*) suspended from the roof not having been introduced. I do not mention thermantidotes of which no one had thought. Ice was then brought from the Himálayas to Ágra via Haridvár and sold from four to eight ánáas a ser.

The Mausoleum of Táj Ganj and the Canal of Dillí are often quoted as bright examples of the high state of civilization, to make an impression on the minds of the people of the goodness and benevolence of the Muhammadan monarchs; but it is not generally known that the latter was constructed not by the Emperors, but by Alí Mardánkhán, who having revolted against his master, the sovereign of Persia, had brought with him immense wealth, the spoil of Afghánistán, then his satrapy. He knew very well that his property would revert to Government after his demise, if he did not spend it all during his lifetime. The precious stones of the Táj at Ágra, were perhaps presents from various Rájás and chiefs.²

¹ The position of Mansabdár varied in proportion to the number of cavalry under his charge, for whose support land was assigned to him.

² Amír Khusro says in *Tárikh-i-'Alai* that 'Aláuddín caused the Hindú temples to be demolished, and the stones to be used in building the new fort at old Dillí. Shamsiráj states in *Tárikh-i-Firozsháhi* that all the camels, oxen, buffaloes, or carts belonging to traders on their arrival at Dillí were impressed for one day to carry bricks for the imperial

There are grave doubts whether the architecture itself of this magnificent edifice is indigenous. There is a portrait¹ in mosaic work still extant in the fort of Dillí (Sháhjahánábád) which leads to the conjecture that Sháhjahán had artists of Italy in his service, and that all his architecture is indebted for its beauty to their workmanship. Be this as it may, to whom do we owe the stupendous piles of ruins marking the extent of Hindustán from one extremity to another? What has become of Kanauj,² which once boasted thirty thousand shops of betel-sellers alone? And what has been the fate of the once magnificent Mathurá,³ whose great temple called forth the wonder and admiration of Mahmúd of Ghazní, so that he exclaimed that a thousand lacs of gold dinárs would hardly suffice to rear so exquisite a building, and that if the most expert and skilled workmen were employed, it could not be finished in less than two hundred years. His own secretary writes in the *Tarikh-i-Yamíní* that the tongue cannot describe and the pencil cannot paint it! Where is now that temple of Bhilsá,⁴ which the author of *Tabakáti Násirí* writes was three hundred and fifteen feet in height and was three hundred years in building? And what has become of the temple⁵ in Southern India the roofing of which was tessellated with rubies and emeralds? Let this suffice, otherwise it is a long story. Who can write, when he must stay his hand that he may weep?

Col. Tod in his *Rájásthán* says that on the death of Rájá Jasvant Sinh of Jodhpur in the invasion of Kábul, his queen and children were brought to Dillí, and ordered by the Emperor to be converted to Islám. The hardy and trusty Rájput warriors contrived to send off the sons of their master concealed in baskets of sweetmeats, blew up the queen and their wives in a heap of gunpowder, and fighting gallantly were cut down to a man. The streets of Dillí were bestrewed with their corpses. It was the 7th (lunar) of Sávan, and is still observed in Jodhpur. We

buildings. It would be no little inconvenience to one travelling from Banáras to Láhaur whose carriage would thus be detained at Dillí on his way to carry bricks.

¹ It is the figure of a European (supposed to be Orpheus) playing on a lyre surrounded by wild animals, and appears to be a copy of the painting of Raphael the famous artist of Florence. It is now placed in the London Museum.

² Kanauj was laid waste by Shahábuddin Ghori.

³ Mahmúd burnt it with fire and naphtha and razed it to the ground.

⁴ Shamsuddin Altimash demolished it.

⁵ The temple was sacked by Malik Kafúr and Amír Khurso gives an account of the horrible carnage committed on this occasion. "These infernal Hindús were living in state and luxury as if they were in possession of the Paradise of Shaddád. But now the scene changed. The heads of the priests danced at their feet in rivers of blood. The images of Mahádev that escaped being trampled upon by the horses, were broken to pieces."

have read in a certain history that a jogí with matted hair, and devoted to Aghornáth, wandered as a *paramhans* in the streets of Dillí. Aurangzeb gave orders that he should become a Musalmán. He refused, and was at once beheaded. The court was attended at 11 A.M. and 6 P.M. daily, when the horses and elephants were also examined. Courtiers who could not give any satisfactory reason for their absence were fined. Separate days of the week were assigned to suits from different provinces; thus, Saturday was devoted to cases of the Dakhan, Sunday and Monday to those of Láhaur, Dillí and Agra, Tuesday to those of Kábul, Wednesday to those of Bangál and Bihár, and Thursday to those of Gujrát. On Friday the Emperor used to go to the Jámí'Masjid. Not only the Emperors of Dillí but almost all men in power were more or less guilty of atrocities. According to Farishta, Muhammad, king of Gulbarga slit the tongue of the Talinga (Telingana) chief's son, and caused him to be burnt alive; and butchered five hundred thousand Hindús in cold blood. Ahmad Jahán entertained himself with music and feasting on the day he massacred above twenty thousand Hindús. Mr. Thomas has calculated the revenue of different Emperors as follows:—Firoz Sháh Tughlak nearly seven, Babar nearly three, Akbar thirty-two, Sháhjahán twenty-two and Aurangzeb nearly thirty-nine crores of rupees. The period of Muhammadan supremacy may be reckoned as lasting till the death of Aurangzeb. After him anarchy prevailed. The Marhattás looked upon the country as their own; the Sikhs raised a separate standard, while Nádir Sháh and Ahmad Sháh Durrání ransacked it as if it were a piece of unclaimed property. Every governor reigned supreme in his province. The word Marhattá may be represented as if made up of "mar" and "hat" meaning one who retreats after striking. The name is typical of their practice in warfare. Pillage was their hereditary occupation. Mr. Stokes says in his history of Belgám with reference to the character of the Marhattás, in the beginning of this century, that Apá Dase of Nipání never failed to imprison men for their wealth, and women for their beauty. Several men and women remained immured for ten or twelve years, and some died in jail. People still remember there that he used to range beautiful young women into a line, on the edge of a balcony without railings just overlooking a lake, and coming near would push some one of the trembling beauties down into the water and enjoy the sight of her drowning. What divers sorts of hearts God has made, some melt like wax with pity, others are harder than iron and flint. This chief surpassed demons in wickedness.

But at this crisis the merciful God transferred the country to benign rule of the British. Its withered fields revived and the star of its glory which had set, rose again. The Musalmáns not only carried sword and fire to all its corners, and enslaved and plundered its inhabitants under the pretence of spreading their own religion, but their rule also brought about an entire degradation of the moral character of the people. Arrian says that a Hindú was never heard to tell a lie, but now we are ashamed to own that there are few Hindustánís who speak the truth at all hazards. In the age of the Mahábhárat the Kaurav and Páṇḍav princes strove to display to the people their skill and strength in heroic games and athletic sports. But now the wrestlers are hired and buffoonery has taken the place of dramatic performance. The selfishness of the Bráhmans turned away the Áryans from the Vedic religion to Buddhism, and the pacific doctrines of Buddhism softened the heart to the detriment of the hand, so that the tame spirit of petty traffickers, Baníyás, fell upon the Kshatriyas or warrior race; but the cruel hardheartedness, rapacity and debauchery of the Muhammadáns demoralized both. The result was that the conquered race began to commit infanticide, shut up their women in Zanámas, and to observe strange scruples in matters of cooking and eating food in order to keep themselves separate from their Musalmán rulers, to please and flatter whom they had learnt to speak lies. Their religion so far lost its original character that it made them idle, and idleness is the first step to ruin and degradation. Casts stunt the growth of civilization at home and prevent it from outgrowing. Where the sovereign is despotic a nation can never have any social reform or progressive civilization. But we do not know to what scale of civilization a people belong, who burn their mothers alive with the bodies of their fathers, murder their daughters at their birth, marry hundreds of wives¹ and confine them within the walls of Zanámas like prisoners, make human sacrifices to their gods and expect blessings in return, and sell their fellow creatures, not only prisoners of war, but also others in open market like sheep and goats!

We should be ashamed to own them even as human beings. Let us now see how India has been delivered by the British from the grip of tyrants and robbers. What gigantic impulse has been given to its commerce, by throwing open to it all the seas of the world! Steam and electricity conduce to its convenience and prosperity. Tunnels have

¹ Maháráj Mán Singh had fifteen hundred wives, of whom sixteen became sati.

Deeds of conveyance and mortgages of slaves like those of land and houses were attested by the seal of the Kázi, and the signature of the witnesses. We have some of these still in our possession.

been dug underneath mountains and canals cut across the isthmus of Suez to join two seas. Sons have been restrained from burning their mothers and fathers from staining their hands with the blood of their innocent infant daughters. No human sacrifices, and no traffic in slaves to degrade man to the level of the brute. The progress of a country is marked by two circumstances, first by the extent of commerce, and secondly by the value of money. The more the commerce and less the value of money the greater is the progress and prosperity of a nation.

Nearchus the admiral of Alexander, who sailed from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Euphrates, writes that he did not meet a single ship in his voyage, passing only a few fishing boats; but now so many ships and steamers sail the ocean that they sometimes come into collision. The imports in 1870-71 amounted to about 39 crores. In 1868-69 to above 51. The exports in the former year stood at 57½ crores, while in 1864-65 they had risen to about 65 crores. Hence the commerce of this country has risen to more than a thousand millions. The wealth of this country will increase in proportion as the exports exceed the imports, because silver (money) will come in exchange and its value will be proportionably lowered. From the reign of 'Aláuddín to that of Akbar or down to 1600 A. D. one tolá of gold fetched ten tolás of silver. In 1700 its value rose to 14 tolás and now it is above 15; but it must be borne in mind that the value of gold has also decreased. In the reign of 'Aláuddín two maunds of wheat sold for one tolá of silver, in other words 20 maunds fetched one tolá of gold. But a tolá of silver now scarcely fetches the eighth part, that is to say, the same amount of wheat brings in eight times more silver and five times more gold. To procure the same amount of food a man's wages must now be raised for one of 'Alauddín's time to 8 rupees per mensem, or in other words a man in 'Aláuddín's time having the same amount of silver was 8 times richer than he can be now. During the Muhammadan rule Kabír, Nának, Suthrá and other reformers tried to unite the Hindús and Muhammadans into one religion, and now the Bráhmos, correctly Bráhmas, have undertaken to join the Hindús, Musalmáns, and the Christians together in one common worship, remove the obstacles of caste, and secure liberty to women. It is a common saying among us that as the king is, so will his subjects be; the latter are gradually adopting the fashions, manners, and customs of their rulers. It is the English alone who raise the conquered to the level of the conquerors in education as well as in the public service. Our gracious Queen Victoria (may the Lord ever exalt her glory) has issued a proclamation that, "It is our further

will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race, or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge." It says further—"In their (our subjects) prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

Many ignorant persons think that the English will fall as the Hindús and Musalmáns rose and fell. But this is folly. They can fall only when there is discord amongst them, and this is quite opposed to their religion, sound education and enlightenment. Discord (*phút*) and antipathy (*bair*)¹ are the indigenous productions of this country only. The cold climate of Britain is quite uncongenial to their growth. Britain will go on flourishing in spite of these foolish expectations. With hers the prosperity of India is united. May God speed Britain so that the advancement of our country may follow in her train!

¹ *Phút* (*cuoumis momordica*) and *bair* (*zizyphus jujuba*), meaning also discord and antipathy, are indigenous productions of India.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

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4	quotaion	quotation	18	18	white faced	white-faced
33	accunt	account	"	20	fendal	feudal
29	logy	alogy	"	24	of do took	took
2	geneologi-	genealogi-	"	"	lad	laid
24	Buddh	Buddha	"	40	taken	taken.
34	Babylon ;	Babylon	"	45	produce,	produce
37	Persepolis	persepolis)	"	"	value	value,
33	Koses long & 12 Koses	Kos long and 12 Kos	"	48	Premanent	Permanent
26	Adyodhyá	Ayodhyá	20	20	age of	age of the
25	hundreds of	many	21	34	says	says :
3	millions,	millions	"	35	Elephants	elephants
7	universal con-quest	Universal Con-quest	"	36	In Ashtak II	In Ashtak II.,
					Adhyáy 2nd	Adhyáy 2nd,
22	Budh	Buddha	22	6	no where	nowhere
"	Baudh	Bauddha	"	38	Pandavs	Pándavs
23	synonimous	synonymous	25	16	we shall	I shall
25	Buddh	Buddha	"	"	our own	my own
36	better	better :	"	34	Aigyupt	Aigupt
41	Váraruchi	Vararuchi	26	28	we	I
35	Aryas	Áryas	"	29	we	I
10	Aryas	Áryas	"	"	our	my
35	Pedigree	pedigree	"	41	Śakya	Śákya
47	Kaikhusra	Kaikhusrau	"	"	Buddh	Buddha
17	canon	cannon	27	5	South West	South-West
24	Mah	Máh	"	28	Mahárāja	Mahárāj
26	Yajnasálá	Yajnasálá	"	33	now ;	now,
35	Exilerating	Exilarating	28	11	Hindús,	Hindús
37	Viśvá Mitra	Viśvámitra	"	31	Budh's	' Budh's
18	one-twelvth	one-twelfth	"	32	was son	was the son

